

IN THESE TIMES

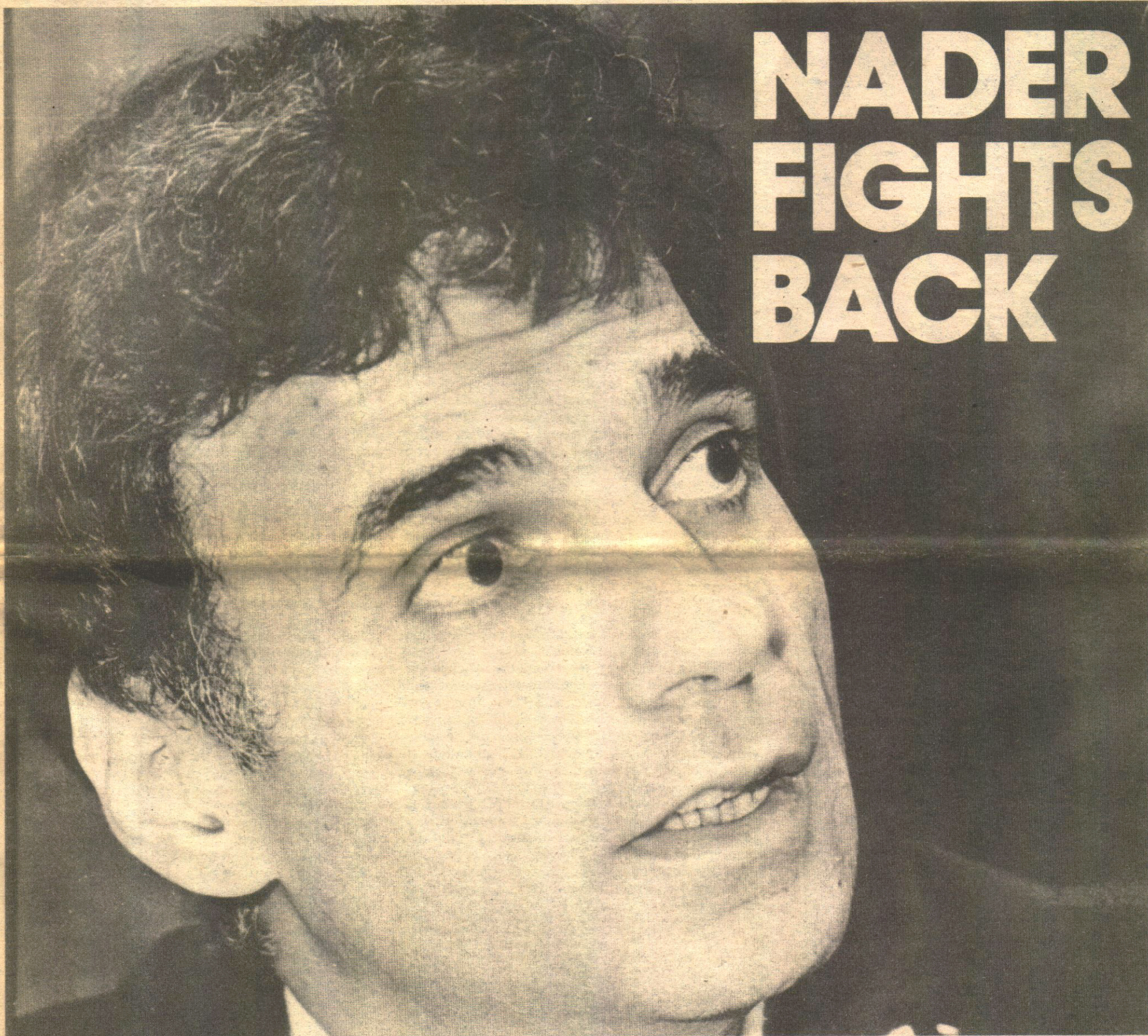
Special Poetry
Section—Pages 19-21



Vol. 1, No. 14

February 22-28, 1978

50 Cents



NADER FIGHTS BACK

Photograph by Lionel Delevingne

Daniel Ellsberg on nukes 2

American threats to use the bomb

Coal companies' hard line 4

But miners holding out despite hardships

Teamster leaders face suit 6

Government moves undermine Fitzsimmons

Rightwing terror in Italy, Spain 9

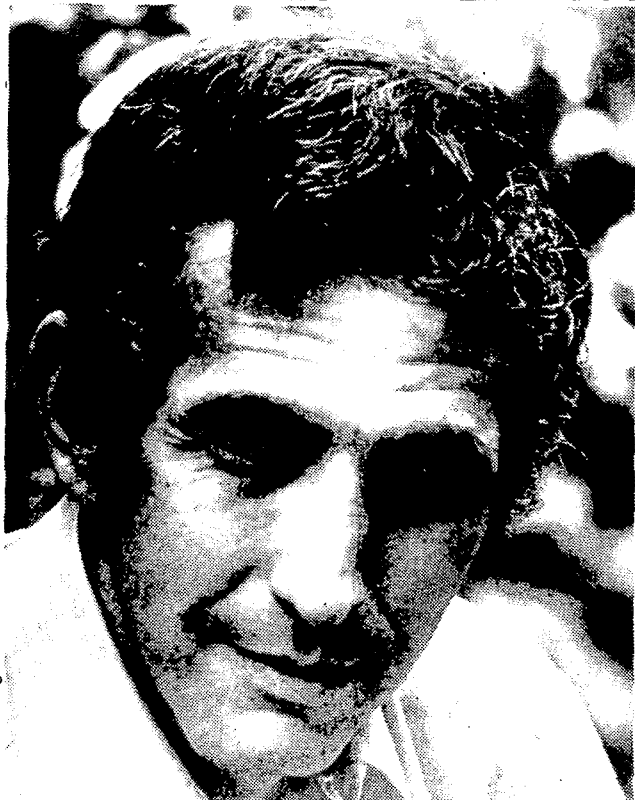
They hope to provoke states of emergency

Jimmy the Baptist 12

The troubled waters of secular piety

THE INSIDE STORY

JOHN JUDIS



Daniel Ellsberg

The \$64 billion Question

No aspect of American government policy is as shrouded in secrecy as nuclear war planning. Indeed, the concept of nuclear war planning defies the imagination.

To the extent that they become public, debates over American nuclear arms policy are couched either in biblical terms, of God against the Devil, or in an acronym-dense jargon (ARBES, FLTSATCOM, SIG, SS-19, MX, BAMBI, MIRV) indecipherable to an ordinary mortal.

Meanwhile, peaceful protestations are constantly contradicted by warlike practices, and the arms race continues and spirals upward, contrary to public wishes (Carter was elected on a promise to reduce the defense budget) and the survival of the species.

What is the hidden reality behind our nuclear policy and those great debates that take place when the defense budget comes up in Congress? Does the U.S. really need a neutron bomb? Will the SALT talks lead eventually to the abolition of nuclear weapons?

Drafted U.S. nuclear policy.

Daniel Ellsberg made history in 1971 when he made public the secret study of the Vietnam war that he had undertaken in the late '60s for Sec. of Defense Robert MacNamara. But before he became involved in Vietnam war policy, Ellsberg's specialty was nuclear planning.

In 1958, while still at Harvard's Society of Fellows, Ellsberg went to work for the Rand Corporation, studying nuclear decision-making. In 1961, he went to Washington as a consultant to Assistant Secretary of Defense Paul Nitze, where he helped draft the Basic National Security Policy that served as the guideline for nuclear strategy in 1962 and 1963.

In the mid-70s, with Nixon's case against him thrown out of court and the Vietnam war over, Ellsberg moved to San Francisco and began to return to his earlier preoccupation with nuclear weapons policy—not as an insider, but as an outsider fearful of developments on the inside.

For, unlike most people, Ellsberg knows what the acronyms stand for. He also knows some of the concerns that appeals to Communist demonology have masked.

Krushchev and Hitler.

When Ellsberg first went to work at Rand, he did so because he thought he could help prevent nuclear war from occurring. While I talked to him in his San Francisco home, he repeatedly emphasized that his under-

standing of nuclear policy has changed since then, but that his values and goals have not.

In 1957, the Russians had sent Sputnik into orbit, and American policymakers believed that the Soviet Union was pulling ahead of the U.S. in the arms race. They expected that by 1959 or '60-61 the Russians would have 150 to 300 Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles with which they could destroy the American arsenal, which consisted mostly of vulnerable B-52s and B-38s—and, in addition, that they could inflict intolerable damage on American society.

As an expert in decision-making theory, Ellsberg studied the Soviet threats of that period to discover their ultimate objectives. He found a striking similarity between Hitler's threats prior to 1939 and Krushchev's in the late '50s.

A Soviet first-strike seemed imminent unless the U.S. raced ahead with its nuclear arms program.

The "missile gap."

In the 1960 election, John F. Kennedy made much of the "missile gap" in attacking the Eisenhower-Nixon record.

Ellsberg believes Kennedy was sincere.

He recalls the Pentagon reaction in 1961 when Kennedy told Krushchev at their meeting in Vienna, "Let us assume that we are equal in strategic forces." The Pentagon did not disagree with Kennedy's assessment, but they criticized him for revealing "an embarrassing truth about our weakness."

Then in September 1961, the government learned that the Russians did not have 300 or 200 or even 100 missiles, but a lowly four. With its 40 ICBMs, its B-52s and Polaris, the U.S. was vastly superior to the Russians.

The 1961 revelations were a turning point for Ellsberg. He saw the policymakers' error as being "entirely in the field of motives: we were facing a different adversary from the one we had been thinking about all those years." Krushchev's threats had been part of a "total bluff" designed to save money for the Soviet budget. (At Vienna, according to Ellsberg, Krushchev had replied to Kennedy, "My generals tell me that we are ahead of you, but I am glad you are realistic enough to say at least we are equal.")

From Ellsberg's standpoint, it was a time our entire nuclear policy could have been reevaluated. But the Pentagon chose to go on as before. They stuck to "the image of a Hitler-like Russia" and to the nuclear arms expansion that had been conceived in order to overtake the Russians.

The Polaris missile program was already creating an invulnerable deterrent against any nuclear attack, but the Pentagon demanded that the U.S. build 1,600 Minuteman ICBMs. The main debate that year was between the Pentagon's figure and 400 proposed by Kennedy-MacNamara. They compromised on 1,000.

Our own threats.

At this point in history, I asked the \$64 billion question: Why did the U.S. still push ahead?

According to Ellsberg, there were the off-cited motives of votes and jobs in important defense-dependent constituencies like California and Texas, the pressure from the armed services, which could expect more money, personnel and a higher command structure with each new arms program, and a Keynesian-type attempt at ending unemployment through the form of public spending least susceptible to criticism.

But there was also a key strategic rationale that Ellsberg discovered when he examined comparable decisions over a 20 or 30 year period. Ellsberg found that "time after time the fear of enemies' attack on the U.S. or our closest allies was deliberately exaggerated in order to acquire a force that proved useful in terms of our own threats."

It all began, according to Ellsberg, in mid-1944 when the U.S. learned that the Germans had no atom bomb program. Instead of suspending the American program, whose original rationale had been to deter or retaliate against a German attack, American policymakers re-directed it toward first-use of the weapons against Japan.

Nine threats or contemplated uses.

Ellsberg says that the U.S. has always explicitly threatened first use of nuclear weapons against Soviet forces in the NATO area, which has been an important factor in American dominance over its NATO allies. But, after the Soviets had acquired nuclear weapons, it was recognized that American first-use would have disastrous consequences. In contrast, outside Europe, "a major function of our having nuclear weapons has been to threaten or contemplate their use against countries that do not have them." Except for a brief period during the Kennedy administration when conventional forces were seen as a substitute for nuclear weapons, they have been seen in this light.

Ellsberg cited nine cases from his reading or experience:

- In 1950, Truman threatened to use nuclear bombs in Korea and was only dissuaded when British Prime Minister Clement Attlee flew across the Atlantic to protest.

- In 1953, Eisenhower threatened their use against the North Koreans if they did not agree to our peace terms.

- In 1954, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles offered the French three atomic bombs for defending Dien Bien Phu.

- In 1958, Eisenhower authorized their use in defending Quemoy and Matsu against a Chinese attack.

- In 1961, the Joint Chiefs of Staff proposed their use if the Chinese should invade Laos.

- In 1968, Johnson discussed the possibility of their use in the Defense of Khe Sanh.

- In 1969, Nixon contemplated their use against the staging areas of war material from China in North Vietnam.

- In 1972, Nixon considered using them during the North Vietnamese offensive.

- From 1969 to 1974, during the Paris Peace talks, Henry Kissinger, according to a North Vietnamese report, threatened to use nuclear weapons many times in trying to force North Vietnamese compliance to American peace terms.

Defusing the Soviet threat.

But why the arms race with the Soviet Union? What role did that play in this drama of nuclear intimidation?

According to Ellsberg, the U.S. sought superiority over the Russians so that in the event of an American nuclear first-use in the course of conflict in Europe, or more probably in conflict with one of Russia's nuclear-less allies, the Russians would be afraid to come to their aid with nuclear weapons. If they did, the U.S. "could threaten them with much greater destruction."

It was to ensure this superiority that the Pentagon planners pushed ahead our nuclear arms development in the early '50s and '60s.

But what about today? With the Soviets having achieved rough parity by the late '60s is the U.S. still determined to be superior? And does the strategic interest in using nuclear weapons against countries without them still persist?

Ellsberg thinks that the Carter administration's decision to go ahead with the Trident submarine, Cruise missile, and the neutron bomb reflects a set of priorities that hark back to the original ones.

Next week: Ellsberg on Carter.

IN THESE TIMES

THE INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST NEWSPAPER

Published 50 times a year: weekly except for the fourth week of July and the fourth week of December by New Majority Publishing Co., Inc. 1509 North Milwaukee Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60622, (312) 489-4444, TWX: 910-221-5401, Cable: THESE TIMES, Chicago, Illinois.

EDITORIAL

James Weinstein, *Editor*, M.J. Sklar, *Associate Editor*, Doyle Niemann, *Managing Editor*, John Judis, *Foreign News Editor*, Janet Stevenson, *Cultural Editor*, Dan Marschall, David Moberg, *National Staff*, Diana Johnstone, *Foreign Correspondent*, Elizabeth Price, *Editorial Assistant*, Bill Burr, Keenan Peck, Steve Rosswurm, *Librarians*.

ART

Kerry Tremain, *Art Director*, Tom Greensfelder, *Associate Art Director*, Nori Davis, *Assistant Art Director*, Jim Rinnert, *Composition*, Jane Melnick, *Camera*, Ken Firestone, Jane Melnick, *Photographers*.

BUSINESS

William Sennett, James Weinstein, *Co-publishers*, Nick Rabkin, *General Manager*, Ellen Deirdre Murphy, *Advertising/Business*, Ed Starr, *Promotion & Development*, Mary Elaine Jans, *Office*.

BUREAUS

LOS ANGELES: Bob Gottlieb, David Talbot and David Lindorff, 437 28th Ave., Venice, CA 90291, (213) 931-9351.

SAN FRANCISCO: Chris Dorr, 140 Sanchez St., San Francisco, CA 94114, (415) 626-7897.

SOUTHERN: Jon Jacobs, 830 W. Peachtree St., Suite 110, Atlanta, GA 30308 (404) 881-1689.

NEW YORK: Dick Bucklin, George Carrano, 131 East 15th St., New York, NY 10003, (212) 673-7270, 865-7638.

BOSTON: Sid Blumenthal, 123 Oxford St., Cambridge, MA 02140, (617) 864-8689.

SPONSORS

Robert Allen, Julian Bond, Noam Chomsky, Barry Commoner, Hugh DeLacy, G. William Domhoff, Douglas Dowd, David Du Bois, Barbara Ehrenreich, Daniel Ellsberg, Frances Putnam Fritchman, Stephen Fritchman, Barbara Garson, Eugene D. Genovese, Emily Gibson, Michael Harrington, Dorothy Healey, David Horowitz, Paul Jacobs (1918-1978), Ann J. Lane, Elinor Langer, Jesse Lemisch, Salvador Luria, Staughton Lynd, Carey McWilliams, Herbert Marcuse, David Montgomery, Carlos Munoz, Harvey O'Connor, Jessie Lloyd O'Connor, Earl Ofari, Ronald Radosh, Jeremy Rifkin, Paul Schrade, Derek Shearer, Warren Susman, E.P. Thompson, Naomi Weisstein, William A. Williams, John Womack Jr.

The entire contents of IN THESE TIMES is copyright © 1978 by New Majority Publishing Co., Inc., and may not be reproduced in any manner, either in whole or in part, without permission from the publisher. All rights reserved. Publisher does not assume liability for unsolicited manuscripts or material. Manuscripts or material unaccompanied by stamped, self-addressed envelope will not be returned. Subscriptions, address changes, and adjustments should be sent to IN THESE TIMES, Circulation Department. Subscriptions are \$17.50/year. Advertising rates sent on request. All letters received by IN THESE TIMES become the property of the newspaper. We reserve the right to print letters in condensed form. Second class postage paid at Chicago, Illinois.

This edition (Vol. 2, No. 14) published Feb. 22, 1978, for newsstand sales Feb. 22-28.

Nader's ups and downs

By Chuck Fager

WASHINGTON

WILL 1978 BE THE YEAR that Ralph Nader plunges into electoral politics full blast? It looks like it. "We intend to make 'corporatism' an everyday word in America by next fall," he declared recently in an interview with *IN THESE TIMES*. "Liberal versus conservative is no longer the dividing line in politics; the actual distinction is between the 'corporatists,' those who support and expand the power of corporations, and 'consumerists,' those who are working to expand the power of the people. The abuses of power by large corporations is the number one issue in our society, and we intend to make it the political issue in 1978."

Mark Green, director of Congress Watch, the legislative monitoring arm of Nader's Public Citizen conglomerate, which operates out of a cramped, spartan office in a converted house a block away from the Capitol, elaborated on Nader's plans. Congress Watch, Green said, is launching a campaign to organize Congress Watch locals in as many as 50 key congressional districts around the country.

Green stressed that the actual list of target districts is still tentative, but his associate, Gene Karpinsky, said current targets include districts around St. Louis, Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, Long Island and upstate New York, Kansas, Tennessee, Delaware and California.

Isn't enough to be right.

Although Nader and Green have been planning their grass roots emphasis for some time, it received a big boost Feb. 8 when the House of Representatives decisively voted down a bill to create a federal consumer protection agency. The Carter administration, Democratic House leaders and the consumer movement had all pushed for the bill, and its defeat was seen as a serious blow to pro-consumer forces.

Nader won't be the only consumer activist hitting the hustings this fall. After the consumer protection bill was defeated, Kathy O'Reilly, executive director of the Consumer Federation of America, was hopping mad. She declared that "CFA will become active in this year's campaign in an aggressive and all-out fashion and work with others to vigorously seek the defeat of consumer enemies in the 95th Congress. We will particularly expose those members of Congress who ran on consumer platforms in the last campaign and have now betrayed their consumer commitments." The CFA is a coalition of over 200 groups in every state except Alaska.

The Congress Watch and related efforts, Green explained, will be based on a simple thesis: "We've found that it isn't enough for us to be right on the merits of an issue here in Washington. To get Congress to act, especially when a vote is going to be close, we have to have pressure coming in from the districts. So the locals will be a way to get information to people back home about what their representative is doing, as opposed to what he or she may say they're doing, and to mobilize public support for our issues. During the campaign next fall, the locals will be active in a variety of ways, from informing people about the records of various legislators and candidates, to actively campaigning for or against people. We're still thinking about whether to make formal endorsements; we might."

How much will Nader himself join in these campaign efforts? "Ralph will be available for making public appearances in support of local efforts," Green said. Nader himself cautioned that "I won't be campaigning for or against particular candidates, though I will discuss the records of people in office, to get that spe-



Despite a good record on consumer issues, Rep. Pete McCloskey (above) got Nader's label of "mushy liberal" because of his doubts about the consumer protection bill.

cific information out to the voters."

Can Nader's "nonpartisan" campaign help a candidate?

One person who thinks so is Paul Sarbanes, the junior Democratic senator from Maryland. In a little-reported speech to a gathering of public interest lobbyists last year he paid a rather candid tribute to Nader's influence: "Ralph came to Baltimore in 1970, when I was running for Congress, to give a nonpartisan, nonpolitical address," Sarbanes said. "That's true; he came over as an old classmate of mine at Princeton. I had the honor of introducing him at this nonpolitical function and he gave an absolutely nonpolitical address and was enormously helpful in getting me elected to the Congress of the United States."

"Blackbird journalism."

Nader's new campaign comes to light in the midst of the heaviest outburst of media criticism in his public career. Business publications have, of course, always decried his influence in Washington, and eagerly reported anything that hinted at its decline. But this fall similar complaints and questions have been appearing in more mainstream publications. "Is Nader Fading?" asked *Newsweek* last summer; "Nibbling at the Nader Myth" was *Time's* headline in September; and just a few weeks back *U.S. News* echoed the big question: "Is Nader Losing His Clout?"

Even the influential *National Journal*, which is widely read around Capitol Hill, recently speculated about whether we were witnessing "The Nader Nadir."

Nader scoffs at the articles. "I call it 'blackbird journalism,'" he told *IN THESE TIMES*, "one of them takes off and they all do. I've been through all this before. It's mostly being generated by people who wish that it were true, hoping that if they say it often enough it will be."

Nor was he concerned that the articles themselves might cause any decline in his influence. "That theory about the image of power being as important as the substance is a myth. Washington is a city that is very skilled at knowing the distinction between the image and the substance of power. The myth of the importance of image is sustained by people who lack real influence, in hopes of generating some power out of it."

Better record than labor.

In that case, how can the power of someone like Nader and the consumer movement be concretely judged outside the pages of nervous newswEEKlies?

"There are two ways you can judge it," Nader said. "First, consider who we are up against. If we can come up neck and neck against the biggest coordinated lobby of trade groups ever, that's real power. We've done better on Capitol Hill this session than organized labor."

"Second, you judge by whether a group wins its battles, and achieves what it's aiming at; or if you lose, by how close you come. And in those terms we've also been doing well."

Applying these criteria to the actual votes Nader considers to have been important in the 1977 congressional session, Nader's self-estimate holds up well. In the Senate, of 40 key votes his side won 19 and lost 21, a success rate of 47.5 percent. In the House, out of 38 tests he won 20 and lost 18, for a 53 percent average. In each chamber, moreover, four of his losses were by very small margins.

Still, Nader has suffered important setbacks this past year, above all the loss of his bill to establish a consumer protection agency in Washington.

Nader called the consumer protection agency proposal "the most important consumer bill of the decade," and he reacted sharply to representatives who, he says, once supported it but later switched sides.

Attacks on mushy liberals.

Indeed, much of the spate of media criticism directed against Nader has grown out of a series of verbal broadsides he has unleashed against "mushy liberals" in the House, "a fluid but discernible bloc," he says, that "has tipped the balance away from a Congress that cares."

Particular targets of his ire have been Representatives like Pat Schroeder and Tim Wirth, Democrats from Denver; Pete McCloskey, the California antiwar Republican who challenged Nixon in the 1972 New Hampshire primary; Tom Foley of Washington, a Democrat who is chairman of the House Agriculture committee; Andrew Jacobs, a Democrat from Indianapolis; and Robert Giaimo, a Connecticut Democrat.

Nader's attacks were reemphasized in Mark Green's overview to the Public Citizen 1977 Congressional Voting Index, where Pat Schroeder headed the list of "The Biggest Disappointments of the Year," despite her high rating of 83 percent correct voting, up from 77 percent in 1976. "It's not just how well a person voted," Green says, "it's also how much better they *could* have voted." Schroeder announced last summer that she intended to vote against the Consumer Protection Agency bill.

What has made these liberals so mushy? Nader's explanation is straightforward and cynical: they start with "a lack of political courage and an absence of poli-

tical imagination," he wrote last September in his syndicated column. "These attributes invite political seduction by corporate interest groups or the excuse of political pragmatism."

New coalition every time.

Will Nader's criticisms, and the associated electoral efforts next fall, actually help or hurt his ability to move Congress?

A series of interviews around Capitol Hill suggests that the answer, confusingly enough, is that it will do both. The basis for this ambivalence lies in the character of the mushies: they are part of an emerging constituency of 80-100 members of the House who might better be called independents.

They tend to be liberal on many issues, but are unpredictable. Party loyalty doesn't count for much with them. The second and third-termers among them helped overthrow several committee chairmen, and they are not much awed by the House leadership or, for that matter, by the peanut farmer in the White House. They want to be re-elected, but are willing to take risks for what they believe is right.

This group represents, according to Florida Democratic Rep. Dante Fascell, "a whole new brand of politics." No one, he adds, can take their support for granted. "You have to build whole new coalitions for each issue."

Continued on page 18.

Nader's relations with Rep. Pat Schroeder (below) are a classic example of the problem of Nader's style. The dispute between them would do more justice to a pair of 12 year olds.



THE NATION

Oil companies lose tax credit but not for another year

By Georg Zola

WASHINGTON

JEROME KURTZ, INTERNAL REVENUE Service Commissioner, has reversed a 1955 ruling allowing major American oil companies to credit payments made to foreign governments against their U.S. income taxes, effectively avoiding any tax. (See *ITT*, Feb. 1.)

Although issued Jan. 16, the ruling will not take effect until Jan. 1, 1979, in effect giving oil companies a one-year grace period and a \$2 billion tax break.

Rep. Benjamin Rosenthal (D-NY) was incensed at the implementation delay in the ruling. His subcommittee on Commerce, Consumer and Monetary Affairs has been holding hearings to study IRS and Treasury department favored treatment of multinational oil companies.

At issue was the foreign tax credit claimed by oil companies, which permits them to credit royalty payments paid to foreign countries against their domestic taxes. Rosenthal charged that such tax credits have cost the Treasury \$6 billion since 1973.

Rosenthal and eight members of his subcommittee have been pressing the Carter administration to end the oil company loophole and to make the oil companies pay the \$6 billion they have avoided paying in taxes since 1973, the year that the IRS first notified the oil companies that the tax credit policy was being studied for possible revision.

"Legally, Kurtz had the authority to ask for payments retroactive to 1973. His authority is autonomous and as evidenced by his ruling he has the power to subsidize anything. He gives them [oil companies] a one-year grace period and a \$2 billion subsidy," Rosenthal said in response to the new ruling.

According to another committee source, there was inside lobbying for the oil companies from within the Treasury department. According to the source, Treasury officials pressured the IRS to keep to a minimum any financial losses incurred by the oil companies as a result of any IRS ruling.

The source said that one Treasury department memo suggested that IRS representatives sit down with representatives of foreign governments that deal with American oil companies and work out a deal that would minimize the financial impact of any ruling on American oil companies.

Another memo suggested that no retroactive action be taken against the oil companies.

Treasury department officials had "no comment" on these allegations. However, it was widely reported last November that Blumenthal was resisting any actions against the oil companies that would also damage the Carter administration's relations with business.

The controversy began in 1955 when IRS Commissioner T. Coleman Andrews—overruling Treasury department objections but with the support of the State department—ruled that oil companies could subtract royalty payments made to foreign countries dollar for dollar from their U.S. income taxes. The American public was thus put in the position of subsidizing the oil companies.

Starting next year royalty payments will be claimed as deductions instead of credits.

Georg Zola is a Washington free-lance writer.

Unexpected heavy weather has greatly reduced coal supplies for many states, particularly in the midwest, and has put great pressure on negotiators to come to an agreement.

Coal negotiations still at impasse

By Dan Marschall

AS THE NATIONWIDE COAL strike enters its 12th week, contract negotiations between the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA) and the United Mine Workers union have returned to square one. Observers see no chance that the coal strike will end before inflicting severe hardships on consumers and industrial users of electricity in the coal-dependent states of the Midwest and Appalachia.

The two sides resumed bargaining as a result of several related developments: direct intervention by the White House, heavy corporate and political pressures on coal industry representatives and the expansion of the union's negotiating team.

On Feb. 12 the UMW's 39-member bargaining council, which is composed of district officials, rejected a tentative settlement by an overwhelming 30 to 6 vote. Their action came several days after hundreds of miners demonstrated against the contract in front of UMW headquarters. In Ohio and West Virginia, 52 of 53 local union presidents had earlier voted to reject the agreement.

Faced with the council's rejection and rising opposition to the contract from rank and filers, UMW president Arnold Miller called for an immediate return to the bargaining table. BCOA negotiators obstinately refused, suggesting only that the council review the settlement once again.

As coal shortages worsened, President Carter reversed his hands-off policy towards labor/management disputes and

hinted that he might seek a Taft-Hartley injunction to end the strike. After meeting with labor and energy advisors on Feb. 14, Carter directed Labor Secretary Ray Marshall to convey his "most personal and urgent request" that the two sides begin negotiating at the White House.

Viewing White House negotiations as a "final opportunity" for the collective bargaining process to work, Carter threatened "to resort to stronger measures" if the stalemate was not broken.

Observers seriously doubt that a Taft-Hartley injunction, designed to force strikers back to work for an 80-day cooling off period, would be heeded by striking miners who appear determined to hold out for an acceptable contract. The *Wall Street Journal*, relying on union sources reports that many of the union's 800 locals have already notified Carter by telegram that they would not respect a court order. Following a rally of 200 miners in Charleston, W. Va., press reports indicate that less than 10 percent of the miners would go back to work if an injunction were obtained.

"I know that there's always a very real possibility that they will not [obey an injunction] and that Taft-Hartley is no solution to the problem. We are very reluctant to use it," admitted Marshall.

The chairman of the BCOA, defying Carter and repeated union requests, again declined to renew negotiations. In a blistering letter to Carter, E.B. Leisenring Jr. stated that "collective bargaining has worked" but that the union's internal procedures had failed. The administration should therefore summon the "failing members" to the White House and

force the union "to get its house in order."

The BCOA soon relented under pressure from other coal industry executives, who realized that a refusal to bargain would place them in "an untenable political position," and from corporate power centers like Bethlehem Steel. Carter also vowed to deliver a highly critical statement directed at the coal companies unless they gave in.

The first White House session, opened by Carter and chaired by Marshall, was not "too promising," a union bargainer commented, since "the industry seems to be taking a hard line."

The UMW, hoping to win eventual rank and file acceptance of a settlement, has added three bargaining council members to their negotiating team. The new members include two of the most vocal critics of Arnold Miller—Jack Perry, director of District 17, and Ken Dawes, director of District 12.

Petitions to recall Miller are again circulating the coal fields. Under increasing pressure to resign, Miller has intermittently gone into seclusion during the last few weeks.

Meanwhile, utilities are rapidly being crippled by the lack of coal. The situation is most severe in Ohio, where 95 percent of the electricity is produced by coal generating plants. The Chrysler Corp. predicts the shutdown of all its domestic facilities by early March, idling 150,000 workers. Ford and General Motors are making similar statements.

In Indiana, where 500,000 tons of non-union coal is waiting to be transported, the National Guard and state police have begun to escort coal shipments.

GARMENT INDUSTRY

New sweatshops in California

By Lisa Schlein

LOS ANGELES

THE CALIFORNIA MART, WHERE Los Angeles' clothing manufacturers display their lines to buyers, is a burgeoning, three-building complex connected by circular corridors. Buyers move on high speed escalators past the stained-glass galleria and soft color-coordinated walls throughout the 13-story citadel of wealth and well-being.

A two-million square foot symbol of Southern California's growing prominence in the garment industry, Cal Mart dwarfs the shabbier tenement-like buildings in the surrounding ten-block area of downtown L.A. where the clothes on display in the Cal Mart are sewn.

The other side of the Cal Mart is found two blocks down Main Street—past the \$1.50-and-up skid row hotels, the bars, taco stands, adult book stores, pawnshops and small retailers. There, hand-written signs solicit "operados con experiencia en maquina de una aguja" (experienced single-needle machine operators).

While New York still leads the country in menswear manufacture, California is now the largest producer of ladies sportswear in the U.S., with most of that in the L.A. area. The California Department of Industrial Relations reports, for instance, that 73,000 of the state's garment workers are employed in L.A.'s 2,210 firms.

More than 90 percent of the L.A. garment industry is not unionized. While union shops guarantee machine operators a

Eight thousand illegally produced garments were confiscated.

Other violations included sub-standard working conditions, failure to pay the minimum wage, failure to keep adequate time and pay record, or failure to provide workers' compensation coverage.

Labor Commissioner James Quillan says that 98.5 percent of the firms visited were "either in violation of the labor code or the industrial welfare commission orders. This is an incredibly high percentage."

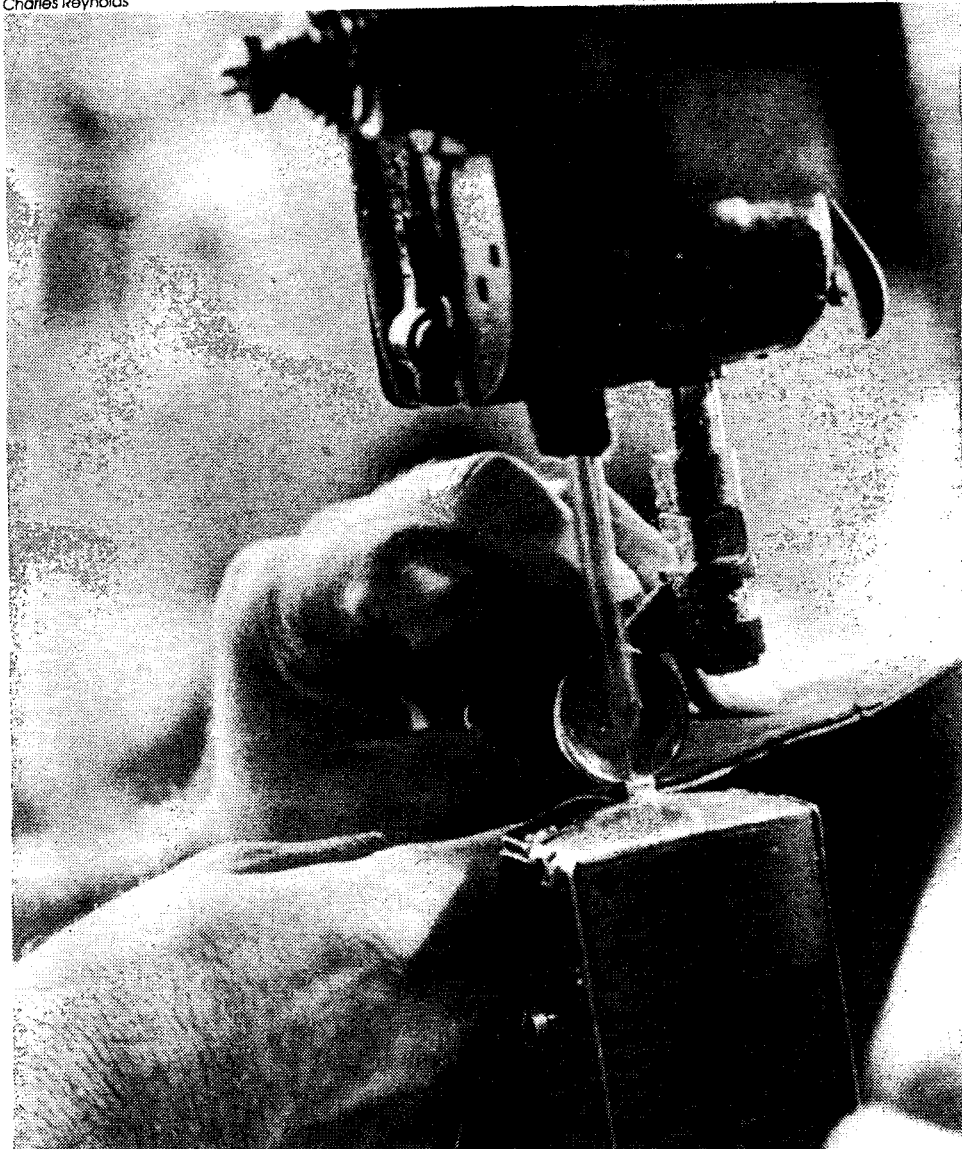
Criminal charges were filed against 15 firms. "This is probably the first time the City Attorney's office in Los Angeles has agreed to go forward with criminal charges against employers for violations in the labor code," says Quillan.

To date, ten firms have been convicted of permitting or negligently allowing illegal homework in the city of Los Angeles. Fines of \$250 to \$1,250 have been handed down, and some firms have been placed on summary probation.

"Tokenism," says Mario Vasquez, an organizer for the International Ladies Garment Workers union (ILGWU). "All they're doing is slapping their wrists at the most."

Vasquez has received complaints from "people who are forced to work all night and are locked in the building until the work is finished." He has documented lists of violations involving unsanitary conditions, lack of bathroom facilities and drinking water, overheating, sexual abuses of female workers, blackmail by employers of "illegal aliens," physical

Charles Reynolds



trance Christensen. "People who do homework are more exploitable because their work options are limited."

Conditions in the sweatshops are difficult to control; in illegal homework they are impossible to control. "Homeworkers are cheated in every possible way," says Vasquez. "They are paid cash. There is no record of the time or the hours they work. They are not given unemployment, social security or disability protection. Employers take taxes away from their pay. Since wages are paid in cash, however, those tax deductions are never actually turned into the government. So, it's a federal fraud that's being committed and it's also a fraud against the state."

Labor Commissioner Quillan's "sweep" of the L.A. garment industry last year revealed that illegal homework was rampant. Estimates of the number of workers involved run into the thousands. Quillan's investigators turned up mini-factories that operated all hours of the day or night. The quarters no longer resembled homes because every room was used for storing material and hanging garments. Quillan says the investigators found "homes with eight or nine machines in the living quarters, and garages equipped with a dozen or more machines."

Homework laws have been on the books for a long time but have largely been ignored. Assembly Bill 353, for instance, which went into effect on Jan. 1, 1976, provides tighter controls over industrial homework and severe penalties for repeated infractions by manufacturers.

But according to Blanca Hadar, the deputy city attorney who has been handling garment industry prosecutions, "A very common business approach is that the manufacturer uses contractors and it is these contractors who come in contact with the industrial homeworker. So the manufacturer is usually at least once removed from the industrial homeworker and this makes for more difficult prosecution."

Bernard Brown, president of the Coalition of Apparel Industries in California, acknowledges that homework is going on. But he feels that most contractors are legitimate and concerned about their image. "There's pressure on a contractor to come up with the best price because of the competition. This pressure forces the contractor to do something illegal once in a while, but I think the overall percentage of abuses in the Los Angeles garment industry is very low. With illegal aliens it's a greater amount, but with minimum wages it's a very, very small problem."

Undocumented workers.

"Illegal aliens"—or undocumented workers as Mexican-American activists prefer to call them—are the backbone of the

L.A. garment industry. They are also, as Joseph Dernetz, deputy district director of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), says, "the most vulnerable people around for purposes of exploitation. We receive numerous complaints that unemployment compensation, withholding tax and other wage deductions are not being paid to the government. Other complaints indicate that employers are getting kickbacks from illegal aliens for hiring them. Many complaints indicate that an alien's neighbors and friends are inclined to blackmail him under the threat of reporting him to the Immigration Service."

Theresa, a former undocumented worker in her mid-30s, worked for six months as a single-needle machine operator in a small non-union shop. "My fellow workers told me that once, before I came to work in that shop, the INS came by and the employer forbade the women to go outside," she recalls. "Now, he uses that as a pretext not to give them any breaks. He keeps the doors closed. Once, one of the machines started short-circuiting and a fire started and all the windows and doors were closed. I demanded to know why he didn't keep the doors open. He said he did that to protect the workers from the Immigration, so no one would know they were inside working."

Labor unions have traditionally favored tough immigration laws, claiming that alien workers take jobs away from American citizens and depress wages and working conditions with their low demands. In an historic departure from this position the ILGWU decided early in 1975 to organize workers without regard to their immigrant status.

Mario Vasquez considers this a realistic position based on the high percentage (at least 80 percent by his reckoning) of undocumented workers. He points out that in the 1940s and '50s, the union had over 20,000 members. Now, due to run-away shops, union membership is about 5,000.

At present all that's needed to go into the garment business is a seller's permit, issued free of charge by the State Board of Equalization, and a city business license, which costs about \$20. The ILGWU has proposed legislation that would require applicants to take a test before they could be licensed. Also required would be stiff security bonds to insure compliance with labor laws and regulating authorities on health, building codes, electrical wiring and occupational safety.

Until such legislation is enacted, L.A.'s garment business will be producing the latest fashions—under the most primitive conditions.

Lisa Schlein is a freelance writer in Los Angeles.

Conditions in L.A. garment sweatshops rival those of the early N.Y. garment industry.



minimum wage of \$2.80 an hour regardless of their piece work performance and provide fringe benefits, in non-union shops it is not uncommon for operators to work ten or 12 hours a day for \$1.00 to \$1.50 an hour. Piece work rates are set very low and there's no guaranteed minimum. Fringe benefits are not generally provided.

Attempts to organize garment workers, or even regulate abuses, are frustrated by the dispersion of production. Only a few processes may actually occur in the plants of main manufacturers, with the rest subcontracted or sent out as homework.

Widespread violations.

Investigations in 1976 by the California State Labor Commissioner uncovered 622 legal violations at 271 garment firms in the Los Angeles area. Most of the offenses were against the industrial homework laws and involved the illegal manufacture of wearing apparel in private homes.

beatings, fake payroll deductions, and lack of ventilation that results in a high concentration of cotton dust particles in the air.

Industrial homework.

Industrial homework, as defined in the California State Labor Code (section 2650), is work done in a home—"any room, apartment, or other premises... used in whole or in part as a place of dwelling." This also includes "outbuildings" such as garages or sheds.

Industrial homework involving the manufacture of garments refers to large-scale production that is "not for the personal use of the employer or member of his family." Home designing and tailoring by a neighborhood seamstress does not fall into this category.

Apparel homework is forbidden in California. Cutthroat competition in the garment industry would invariably lead to extensive exploitation of homeworkers, says Assistant State Labor Commissioner Bea-

LABOR

Teamster leaders sued

By Dan Marschall

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, beginning the second phase of its legal offensive against Teamster pension fund abuses, has damaged another prop beneath the tottering administration of union president Frank Fitzsimmons. On Feb. 1 the Labor department named Fitzsimmons and 16 other former trustees of the Central States Pension Fund in a civil suit that seeks to recover millions of dollars in allegedly illegal or imprudent loans.

Under the 1974 Employment Retirement Income Security Act (ERISA), trustees can be held liable for pension fund losses due to wrongdoing or mismanagement. Fund auditors recently found delinquent real estate loans totaling \$178 million. Another \$37.8 million in real estate loans have been written off and could be lost.

The suit, filed in Chicago District Court, also names as defendants Daniel Shannon, the fund's executive director, and Alvin Baron, its former assets manager who has been indicted for allegedly taking a kickback of \$200,000 for arranging one loan.

Targets of the suit include nine current Teamster officials who hold 34 union positions. Five sit on the International Executive Board, the union's highest decision-making body. One of these officials is William Presser, the head of the Ohio Conference, who authoritative sources have long considered an associate of organized crime. His son, Jackie Presser, the country's highest paid union official at \$220,000 per year, is the heir apparent to Fitzsimmons.

The suit follows a two-year investigation into the \$1.6 billion fund, which covers 480,000 participants. The first phase of government efforts was completed last May, when the Labor department forced Fitzsimmons and other trustees to resign and placed control of the fund's assets in the hands of independent investment managers.

The complaint describes 15 transactions that illustrate a "pattern of imprudent behavior" by the defendants. Some loans were made to individuals linked to organized crime, government sources told the *Washington Post*, and were used to bankroll gambling casinos, racetracks and other risky real estate ventures. About 70 percent of the fund's assets are in real estate.

The lawsuit also claims that loans were made to ostensibly legitimate enterprises without any attempt to obtain appraisal of collateral or with unusual agreements to forego interest payments. When some of the borrowers defaulted, the trustees made no effort to collect on the loans.

In a Washington press conference Labor department officials hinted that an out-of-court settlement might be arranged. All the former trustees were bonded by insurance companies, which would be liable for any judgements against them.

Labor Secretary Ray Marshall reportedly denied that the suit is intended to pressure Fitzsimmons to leave office. Instead the government apparently views the suit as the first big test of the pension reform law.

Union reformers contend, however, that it further weakens Fitzsimmons' credibility with rank and filers and reduces his maneuvering space within the union. The suit undercuts Fitzsimmons' denials that fund illegalities do not exist because widespread indictments have not been issued. This may increase the pressure on Fitzsimmons to resign.

Both the Professional Drivers Council (PROD) and the Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU) welcome the government's action but find it insufficient. "After many delays and after receiving thousands of letters and postcards from Teamster members calling for action,

Targets of the suit include nine current officials who hold 34 union posts. Fitzsimmons heads the list.

Secretary Marshall has finally acted to recover some of the funds that have been siphoned away from Teamster retirees and families," the TDU said.

TDU points out, however, that those being sued are the same persons who appointed the current trustees. The only way to break this "chain of control," they maintain, is for the Labor Secretary to use ERISA to "sue for an election among rank and file Teamsters and retirees to choose the union trustees of the fund." They further call for all Teamster officials named in the suit to resign or be suspended from all union positions pending trial.

PROD believes that the former trustees are also probably involved in criminal violations and should be indicted. "It took a lot of press publicity, rank and file complaints and congressional testimony by PROD members to keep pressure on the Labor department to file this suit. It will take an equal amount of rank and file pressure to force the Justice department to prosecute," declared PROD staff director Paul Poulos.

A Labor department task force, according to Secretary Marshall, has turned over evidence to the Justice department for possible criminal charges.

Responding to the suit, Fitzsimmons charged that the Teamster pension fund "had been singled out as a test case"

while other funds are "either fully or partially underfunded and others are in disarray." He agreed to fully answer the charges in court and expressed confidence that the fund is "fully solvent and more than able to meet its obligations through the 20th century."

At the fund's Chicago headquarters director Shannon stated that the suit's allegations are without foundation and are part of a "blatant government smear campaign." Pledging to "disclose the political motives and pressures that lie behind the vicious slander of the government's complaint," Shannon accuses Labor Secretary Marshall and other high-level Labor department officials of misleading Congress by saying that it was not directly involved with choosing the investment managers.

"In fact, there was frequent and decisive participation by the department in that selection," Shannon charges. "For example, the U.S. Secretary of Labor was closely involved in the promotion of Lomas & Nettleton Financial Corporation of Dallas, Texas, as the prime candidate."

The *Chicago Sun Times*, relying on fund sources close to Shannon, revealed Feb. 14 that Jess Hay, the head of Lomas & Nettleton, is a "key backer" of President Carter in Texas. His firm is closely tied to the Mercantile Bank of Dallas, one



In making the announcement of the suit, Labor Secretary Ray Marshall (above) denied that it was intended to pressure Fitzsimmons into resigning, but union dissidents plan otherwise.

of several companies selected to manage the fund's assets. The bank has handled \$60 million in pension fund money since October, sources estimate.

Because of these political connections, Shannon reportedly believes that the Carter administration is attempting to remove him from administration of the fund to "pave the way for political cronies to continue and expand their control of the operations of the pension fund," according to the *Sun Times*.

WATER

Arizona Indians fight for water

By Tom Barry

SALT RIVER, ARIZ.

THE CENTRAL ARIZONA PROJECT (CAP), which promises to bring 1.2 million acre feet of Colorado River water to this state's once-arid heartland, is already flowing with bitter controversy. The issue is: Who will have superior water rights—the native Indian tribes who have farmed her for 2,000 years or the non-Indian newcomers in agriculture, the cities and retirement communities?

The \$1.5 billion project, the largest of some 30 federal water projects, is regarded as essential to keeping green the irrigated farmlands and sprawling lawns of Phoenix and Tucson.

The need grows more critical by the day, for each year the state removes some 2.2 million acre feet from its rapidly sinking underground water table to fuel expanding industry, cotton farming and urban development.

However, even as the first 90-mile portion of the 300-mile canal nears completion, four central Arizona Indian tribes have gone to court to assert prior rights to the new water, invoking previous treaties and rulings by the U.S. Supreme Court.

The tribes—the Ak-Chin, Gila River, Salt River and Papago—say that because of the monumental growth of non-Indian agriculture, industry and municipalities, the water table under their own once-productive farmland has sunk almost beyond recovery. They regard the new Colorado River water as their last hope to revive their withering farms and rebuild their traditional economies.

The four Arizona federal suits are only a few of the numerous Indian water rights claims now being contested in the courts.

There are five such claims now in litigation over Columbia River water in the Northwest; five in the Rio Grande Basin; three in the Missouri Basin, and five in the Central and South Pacific Basin.

The Indian claims to the water are largely based on a 1908 U.S. Supreme Court decision that guarantees the Indians priority rights to all the water they require to irrigate their arable land. The ruling, known as the Winters Doctrine, has been applied numerous times since then by lower federal courts, and was reaffirmed by the Supreme Court in 1963.

The Indians charge, however, that in recent years the states and federal agencies have refused to honor the Winters Doctrine and have given priority to municipal and industrial use, while tribal farm lands have dried up.

Cecil Williams, chairman of the Papago Indian tribal council, recalls when his people supported not only themselves, but also nearby communities, by farming. "Today," he said, "the running streams are gone, and the underground basin has receded at an alarming rate. Wells have gone dry, and the cost of pumping the remaining wells has become exorbitant."

The reason, the Papagos say, is that the city of Tucson has 20 wells adjacent to the Papago reservation, and mining and agricultural interests also have wells around it. These wells pump water out of the ground continuously.

The Ak-Chin tribe, west of Phoenix, has seen its water table sink from 60 feet below the surface in 1923 to 400 feet below today. "In recent years the water level on our reservation has dropped 20 feet every year," said tribal spokesperson Leona Kakar.

As a result the Indian lands have become drier and expensive, if not impossible to farm. Nevertheless, Arizona water planners have given priority for CAP

water to municipal, industrial and private agricultural use.

"All the water in the Colorado, and all the water that falls from God, would not satisfy those Indians," says John Linksmiller of the Arizona Water Commission. "Their water claims are the damndest pack of lies I've heard."

Last year, after lengthy negotiations, the Interior department allocated 20 percent of Colorado River water to the tribes for the next 20 years. After that the Indians would get no CAP water.

Rather than accept this deal the Indians went to federal court. They say they are entitled to enough water to irrigate the 177,000 arable acres they own.

Their claim is supported by Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.) who has introduced legislation that would compensate the Indians for the federal government's neglect of its trust responsibility to protect their water rights.

Kennedy's Central Arizona Tribal Water Rights Act would require the Interior department to acquire land with adequate surface water supplies, and transfer it to the tribes as compensation for their lost water.

"It appears to me premature to proceed with a public project costing over \$1.6 billion to benefit the economy of central Arizona," said Kennedy, "when that economy could be profoundly altered, and the repayment capability of the project seriously threatened by the successful prosecution of the Indian water claims."

Meanwhile, the water table under the state continues to sink. "This has always been boom and bust country," says State Lands Commissioner Andrew Bettwy. "Maybe the next bust will come when the water's gone."

Tom Barry is a staff reporter for *Seers Rio Grande Weekly* in Albuquerque, N.M.

WATER



Bob Fitch

Crisis brewing over water

By Rasa Gustaitis

NOW THAT THE COUNTRY has finally acknowledged that it faces an energy crisis, Jimmy Carter is about to confront it with an even tougher issue: water.

Like fossil fuels, water is finite. There is only so much. Unlike oil, it has no substitute. And though it is renewable, it is quickly becoming scarce and expensive. The General Accounting Office recently warned of "increasing signs that the next great resource crisis—an inadequate water supply—may be rapidly approaching and may be a more difficult problem to solve" than energy.

The crisis has been brewing for decades. Carter is the first president, however, to point to water as an urgent national issue and to try to map a strategy to preserve and protect it. He is expected to announce this strategy later this year, bringing on a likely furor in Congress.

The water crisis is nationwide, though it is especially dramatic in the semi-arid sunbelt state, which lately have experienced the greatest population and industrial growth.

In the Texas high plains, for instance, thousands of irrigated acres of cotton may have to revert to dry grazing land within 20 years when, according to some geologists, groundwater will run out. The problem is similar in western Kansas, Colorado, Arizona, Nevada and parts of California.

In several coastal states salt water intrusion threatens underground freshwater supplies because too much water has been pumped from aquifers (underground reservoirs), allowing sea water to enter. In Florida, which depends mainly on groundwater because its streams are shallow and brackish, the state's principal supply is endangered. It takes very little salt water to destroy an aquifer and the damage is almost irreversible.

Because of overuse of ground water more than a thousand square miles of land has subsided in Arizona and other

In the past if there wasn't enough water somewhere, it was brought in from elsewhere. But that option is rapidly becoming more difficult.

western states.

Excessive irrigation has degraded the soil by salt build-ups in most Western states.

Industrial and agricultural chemicals have polluted much of the country's drinking water supply. Deep underground supplies, which are now considered inaccessible but might perhaps be tapped with more advanced technology, are being poisoned by injection of toxic chemicals into underground dumps.

Meanwhile, plans to extract coal and mine metals with hydraulic methods are about to place a massive new demand on the scarce water in the Southwest and the Great Plains. That demand can only be met at a heavy cost to agriculture.

Few options left.

In the past, the assumption has been that if there's a shortage of water in one place, more could and should be brought in from elsewhere. But so many rivers have now been drained, so many valleys damned, that the price of continuing has grown exorbitant. Looking north for new sources now means looking to Canada and even the arctic glaciers. And that implies a loss of national self-sufficiency.

The alternative course, the one favored by Carter, is to explore the vast potential for conservation and to encourage self-sustaining patterns of use. That, however, implies a change in federal policies that have encouraged waste of water by providing it to users at far below cost, courtesy of the taxpayers.

One of President Carter's first actions after inauguration was to order a review of 32 major dams, flood control and irri-

gation projects, cancelling 18 of them. In so doing he brought upon himself the wrath of Congress as he stepped into the jealously guarded terrain of pork-barrel politics.

The water policy Carter is now expected to propose will anger even more political leaders and special interests, as it affects the way millions of federal dollars are spent.

The policy is expected to stress conservation and to call for more realistic cost accounting, requiring beneficiaries of federal water projects to pay the costs. It will probably also discourage projects that move water from one place to another and may require a search for non-structural alternatives—not developing on a flood plain, as opposed to building a flood control project, for instance.

Opposition will be especially strong in the West, where Carter has already reaped anger with his water policies.

Bureaucratic snarl.

Federal agencies spend nearly \$5 billion a year on water projects, not counting water quality improvement. Forty-three departments and agencies are involved, often at cross-purposes.

Of the 420 billion gallons of water used in the U.S. daily 80 percent goes to irrigation, mainly to states west of the Mississippi. The federal water is priced so low that farmers find it cheaper to let much of it run off unused than to install more efficient irrigation systems that could cut water use in half and eliminate the need for more planned water projects.

But though the federal role is great, water policy is largely under the jurisdic-

tion of the states and localities. Here the confusion is as great or greater.

Anyone whose land abuts a water source, such as a stream or lake, is privileged to a fair share of it. Anyone can claim water for "reasonable and beneficial" use, much the way miners stake claims to gold. Anyone who wants to dig a well on his land may do so, even if he thereby dries out his neighbor's well.

As water becomes scarce such every-man-for-himself policies clearly become a prescription for disaster. Yet local management programs are slow in coming. Instead, states have plans for mammoth construction schemes.

Texas plans to save the high plains cotton farms by diverting Mississippi River water, though the cost of doing so would bring the water at \$340 per acre foot, compared to the already high \$30 an acre foot in California. (An acre foot of water is enough to cover an acre one foot deep.)

Arizona plans to tap the Colorado through the Central Arizona Project (CAP). The state is entitled to a share of this river's water but, until now, has allowed it to go to Los Angeles.

President Carter has made delivery of the CAP water conditional on adoption of a strict water management policy by Arizona. So far none has been adopted. Fountains continue to spout amid cactuses in new subdivisions.

Los Angeles, meanwhile, is looking north toward the highly disputed Peripheral Canal, which would divert more of northern California's water south. Some city officials have also discussed the possibility of tapping the Snake River, further north, or the Columbia.

Interior Secretary Cecil D. Andrus has made it clear, however, that he would not look kindly on such proposals. "I am opposed to any new plan that could result in the movement of water from one state to another," he said. "That is not the way to solve a water crisis."

Rasa Gustaitis is an associate editor of Pacific News Service and a member of the Third Century America Project, specializing in resources.

Random Samples

Illustrations by Tom Greensfelder

Honest, it's not waste

In the summer of 1976, as voters in Oregon were deciding what to do about a ballot measure that would limit nuclear development in the state, the Portland General Electric Co. assured them that, "There is no long-term waste storage of nuclear plant radioactive waste planned in Oregon now or in the foreseeable future."

Well, PGE has discovered a novel way to keep that promise despite the fact that it is planning to double (and was in 1976) its storage of radioactive waste at its Trojan nuclear power plant. According to PGE, the 32 tons of radioactive substances coming out of the Trojan reactor annually are "spent fuel" and not "nuclear waste."

The anti-nuclear Trojan Decommissioning Alliance responded that such an interpretation was "like saying that a gun shoots a piece of soft lead—not a bullet."

Expensive to not ratify

At least 49 business, political and professional organizations are now boycotting states that have not ratified the Equal Rights Amendment.

The National Organization for Women estimates that the boycott has cost New Orleans at least \$7 million; Atlanta, \$12 million; Las Vegas, \$30 million; and Miami Beach, \$5 million. The Chicago Convention and Tourism Bureau estimates that the city had lost \$15 million by last September, and Kansas City officials recently sent the Missouri General Assembly a bill for \$1.2 million, the amount they say the city has lost in convention business.

At the same time, *Majority Reports* says that things are looking up in Virginia. The New York-based women's newspaper reports that Virginia feminists were instrumental in voting out of office the man who has been the ERA's main obstacle in the Virginia House of Delegates, James Thomson. Several other anti-ERA legislators were also defeated, making supporters more optimistic than ever that Virginia will approve the ERA.



Pay your bills week

In case you missed it, Feb. 6-10 was National Pay Your Bills Week. Brought to you for the 11th year by the American Collector's Association, the trade group for the country's bill collectors, the week was intended to encourage people to pay their just debts and to learn to evaluate their financial condition.

The ACA says that you are too far in debt if:

- you use more than 20 percent of your net income to pay for credit purchases,
- you have to sort and classify bills and then put off paying the less urgent ones and regularly receive delinquency notices,
- you use money saved for such things as taxes and insurance to pay off bills and take out new loans to pay old debts,
- you receive new bills faster than you pay old ones.

Consumer debt is a problem. According to the Federal Reserve System, at the end of November outstanding consumer credit was about \$253 billion, up from \$186 billion in June 1975. Consumer debt repayments are approaching 15 percent of disposable income.



Revolving door

IBM recently announced the appointment of three former high officials in the Ford administration to its board of directors—William Coleman, William Scranton and Vincent Learson. They were appointed to fill vacancies left by Carter cabinet appointees Cyrus Vance, Patricia Harris and Harold Brown.

(Rural America)

Accepting gays in church

A study group of the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. has recommended that the 2.6 million member church adopt a policy that would permit the ordination of homosexuals who otherwise meet church requirements, the *New York Times* reported Jan. 23.

For 15 months a 19-member group of clergy and laity considered the biblical and social issues involved in homosexual relationships, eventually deciding that homosexual relationships could be ethically sound if, "for the person involved the relationship encourages and supports growth in faith and self-giving love."

A minority report signed by five members opposed ordination and, while criticizing "the culturally fashionable" hatred of homosexuals, said that "homosexuality is not God's wish for His children," and that it was "a result of man's fallen condition."

The report and accompanying resolution will be submitted to an upcoming General Assembly of the church. If the majority recommendations are accepted, it would give the church the most liberal position on homosexuality of any major American denomination.

Nice guys don't win

"If your competitors, your employees, your suppliers and your local bureaucrats are calling you a 'no good son of a bitch' behind your back—you are probably running a very successful enterprise. If they are calling you a nice guy, a great boss, and a fine customer, you are probably getting screwed, blued and tattooed."

"It's true. In today's instant gratification society, where everyone demands all the good things of life right now from someone else's pocket, the only way a small businessman can survive is with this motto: 'Yea, though I walk through the valley of death, I shall fear no evil, for I am the meanest son of a bitch in the valley.'"

Sound incredible? No, it's an ad for a new book, *Why Sons of Bitches Succeed and Nice Guys Fail in a Small Business*, published by Financial Management Associates, Inc. of Phoenix, Ariz.

Leaving aside the obvious sexism of its title, FMA's brochure for their new book promises a lot. It will show you, "chapter by chapter, how to beat the stacked deck by playing rough and smart

instead of by rules set by the power elite."

Chapter Two, for instance, tells the enterprising entrepreneur how to "screw your employees first (before they screw you)—how to keep them smiling on low pay—how to maneuver them into low-pay jobs they are afraid to walk away from—how to hire and fire so you always make money."

Chapter Three takes on bankers; Chapter Four, bureaucrats; Chapter Five, lawyers, accountants, brokers. In Chapter Six, "you will learn how to give the tax man constipation. How to keep your money, how to hide it, how to use every legal angle in the book to pay far less than you are paying now."

Then there are ways to squeeze your competitors—"how to play the game the way the Rockefellers, IBMs, General Motors and other big boys play it"—how to sell a losing business at a killing, and how to fold it if you can't sell it without losing anything.

It's all there, they say, and it's only \$20.65—tax deductible, they add.

Boycott's off

It looks like everyone can now drink Gallo wine and eat grapes and lettuce without guilt. Feb. 1 the United Farm Workers officially called off their boycotts of grapes, lettuce and Gallo.

Union sources said that the union would now focus its energies on servicing contracts and winning new ones.

Canadian gay paper raided

Spurred by a vicious campaign in the local press, police in Toronto, Canada, raided the offices of Canada's oldest and largest gay newspaper, the *Body Politic*, Dec. 30.

Twelve large crates of records and documents were seized as "evidence" for a charge—only later formally laid—of using the mails to transmit "indecent, immoral or scurrilous" material.

The particular item that was considered offensive was an article that sympathetically dealt with affectional and sexual relations between males over and under 21, the legal age of consent for gay people in Canada—it's 18 for everything else. Several men, over and under the age of consent, discussed their experiences.

Material seized, however, included subscription lists, distribution, advertising and financial records, the corporate checkbook, manuscripts for future publications—everything, in short, that the paper needed to stay in business.

The paper's lawyer is challenging the warrant under which the raid was carried out and is trying to have the material returned. The legal battle of this and the criminal charges is expected to be long and costly. Contributions may be sent to The Body Politic Free the Press Fund, c/o Cornish, King, Sachs and Waldman, 111 Richmond St. West, Suite 320, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

Food follies

The *Furrow*, a magazine published by John Deere, the tractor people, says that while scientists have found all sorts of ways to keep birds and animals from eating food in the fields, the only method so far discovered to avoid human theft has been to post signs warning that fields have been sprayed with pesticides.

According to *Organic Farming* magazine, the FDA has consistently lowered the number of aphids allowed in spinach. While this may have a noble intent, it has resulted in a 300 percent increase in pesticide use in spinach in recent years.

A recent study released by the Department of Biochemistry at Mississippi State University found that pregnant women in a rural agricultural area were found to have pesticide residues comparable to occupationally exposed men.

In addition, the report found that "despite the lack of DDT use during most of the study period, over 90 percent of the mothers, 84 percent of the black newborn and 45 percent of the white newborns demonstrated evidence of recent DDT exposure." One might add that though DDT has been banned in this country, the U.S. continues to be the world's largest exporter.

The Agriculture department is trying to develop a stemless cherry. It's spraying cherries with chemicals before picking in an attempt to get the stem to stay on the tree rather than come off with the cherry. According to *Furrow*, the stems "interfere with sizing and packaging operations." Better living through chemistry?

(Thanks to Cary Fowler)



They can't put it back

In 1971 two young musicians in Appalachia, Rich Kirby and Michael Kline, issued a record, *They Can't Put It Back*. Subtitled "Songs from a Ravaged Land," the record told of the dangers of coal mining—cave-ins, explosions, black lung—of poverty and oppression, and of the struggle of mountain people to win a decent living and to protect their land and culture from destruction.

Seven years have passed and June Apple Recordings has now reissued *They Can't Put It Back*. Time has not dulled its edge, or its relevance. In the midst of the longest coal strike in history, its message still rings loud and clear.

Kline and Kirby say: "The long agony of the mountains is coming to a new, maybe a decisive time in the awareness of people of why they suffer and what they might do about it. Through it all runs a feeling of happiness: it's worth the fight, though, (for now) we usually lose; it's worth living, it's worth singing. The thread of music runs through it all, old and new music, fiddle tunes and ballads, some that come directly from people's experiences and some that come from hundreds of years of history."

They Can't Put It Back is available for \$5.50 from Rich Kirby, Rt. 1, Box 178, Dungannon, VA 24245.

Sell out now, folks

Finally, *Business Week's* answer to farmers' protests came in a Dec. 19 editorial: "The wisest choice for many of the small group of hard-pressed farmers may be to sell out and save what equity they have left rather than fight to reverse the economic forces of their industry." Welcome to the working class, folks.

—Compiled by Doyle Niemann

IN THE WORLD

ITALY

Italian fascists bomb their way to legality

By Diana Johnstone

ON JAN. 24, THREE ROME judges ruled that Ordine Nuovo ("new order"), a gang of pre-Nazi thugs specializing in physical assaults on leftist militants and implicated in various crowd bombings, coup plots and assassinations, was not a fascist organization dedicated to the systematic use of violence. Founded in 1956, Ordine Nuovo was outlawed in 1973 as evidence piled up of its central role in the chain of violence known as the "strategy of tension." Among exploits claimed by Ordine Nuovo was the July 1976 assassination of Judge Vittorio Occorsio, who had been pursuing judicial investigation of the group's activities with excessive zeal.

The new ruling meant acquittal of over a hundred members of Ordine Nuovo on charges of forming a party that "pursues the anti-democratic objectives of the banned Fascist party, exalting and using violence as its method of political struggle and denigrating democracy."

Upon hearing the three judges' opinion that they were not fascist, the Ordine Nuovo members in the courtroom burst triumphantly into the strains of the Fascist anthem, "All'armi siam fascisti" ("to arms, we are fascists") and strode out of the tribunal, their arms raised in the fascist salute.

Leading the singing was Pier Luigi Concutelli, accused of carrying out Ordine Nuovo's "death sentence" against Judge

Ordine Nuovo leaves talk to the National Right; it expresses its ideas with iron bars, dynamite and guns...

Occorsio. Since he was arrested in Rome a year ago, he has always given this answer when asked if he murdered the judge: "Occorsio was killed by Ordine Nuovo, I belong to Ordine Nuovo and I accept responsibility for all its actions."

In Trieste four days later, Ordine Nuovo officially reconstituted itself. The new "New Order" issued a statement grumbling that "if the Rome court ruling had come sooner, many of our comrades would not have had to flee abroad and Judge Occorsio would not have been murdered."

Perhaps to help the three new magistrates acquire a proper sense of responsibility, a rudimentary explosive device was left recently on the courthouse stairs with the message, "Remember Vittorio Occorsio." With so much to think about, the three shut themselves in for an unprecedented three days and three nights of deliberations before reaching the verdict, which shocked and stunned the Italian left.



The body of Rome District Attorney Vittorio Occorsio in his car, shortly after he was killed by two unidentified gunmen in July 1976.

However, the same judges had the courage during the trial to arrest a journalist who refused to divulge his sources.

Concutelli has yet to be tried for the Occorsio murder, but he was convicted last April of possessing military weapons, found in his apartment along with some \$12,000 worth of ransom money paid out

a short time before by an industrialist for the return of his kidnapped 19-year-old daughter—one of many clues linking fascist commando groups to the current epidemic of mercenary kidnappings in Italy.

American liberals, for whom (may their good luck continue) fascism is only an

Continued on page 18.

SPAIN

Barcelona's ex-mayor assassinated

On Wednesday, Jan. 25, ex-Barcelona mayor Joaquin Viola Suare and his wife were assassinated. This latest "atentado" followed on the heels of the Scala nightclub fire, supposedly set by molotov cocktails, in which four workers died. These killings have been accompanied by a wave of violence since the beginning of the new year.

Many observers believe that the violence is a concerted effort on the part of right-wing forces to destabilize the shaky Spanish democracy and to garner public opinion in favor of a return to a more rightist regime, and perhaps a military takeover.

Viola was a much-hated Francoist official in Catalonia. Not only was he unpopular in Barcelona for his policies as mayor, and for his role in the period of repression which preceded Franco's death, but he was disliked on the right for personal reasons. He and his wife—whose rich Tarragona family he married into—together acquired a fortune of about \$5 million in land, agricultural enterprises and financial interests. He was able to use his official position as land inspector to consolidate his wealth.

The Jan. 15 Scala burning set off a police campaign to defame the CNT (Confederación Nacional de Trabajo, Spain's anarcho-syndicalist trade union). The Viola murder has been blamed on people who were accused

of a similar style assassination of a Catalan industrialist—Bulto—last May. The left is being spot-lighted by officials and rightists have used this opportunity to capitalize on Spanish fear of disorder inculcated under the dictatorship.

Right-wing individuals disrupted the Viola's funeral, shouting at the Minister of the Interior and calling for his resignation and that of the government. There were also shouts of "Franco, Franco!" and "Power to the Army." Later, bands of rightists roamed the streets and formed car caravans, broadcasting these and other slogans.

Many contradictory reports on the bombing were issued by the press in the days following the Viola attack. The police story changed daily. The final version is that four people entered the Viola apartment at about 8:30 a.m. and tied up two sons, a girlfriend and the family servant in one room. In the master bedroom a bomb was tied on Viola's chest, and his wife was made to lie next to him. The bomb then exploded, perhaps as Mrs. Viola tried to remove it, and the attackers fled to an awaiting car. One son then freed himself in time to see his mother take her last breath, he claims, and called the police. The bomb was not heard by any neighbors.

Every aspect of this story has been

questioned in the press, and there has been conflicting testimony offered to most of it.

Police did not issue an official accusation until Friday, when witnesses were said to have identified the attackers through photographs as being among those accused of the Bulto murder. The similarity between the two cases has been stressed by the police and the press since the assassination.

According to the police report, the parallels between the Bulto and Viola attacks consist of four points: a similar sophisticated bomb device was used, the "commando" members were three men and a blond woman, they spoke in Catalan, and they left a typewritten note with instructions on handing over a sum of money for information on dismantling the bomb—as well as warning that the bomb could explode from any brusque movement or attempt to remove it up to a period of 25 days.

The story seems fabricated. The most illogical element is that the Bulto accusedes were amnestied about two months ago, and according to their families left the country immediately. They were anticipating the retraction of the pardon granted under the Amnesty Tribunal by the Ministry of the Interior.

Also, it is hardly believable that the same people would commit another

"atentado" (and there is evidence to prove their innocence of the Bulto murder in any case) with faces uncovered—as witnesses claim they were—and in an identical manner.

Many people are skeptical about the police interpretation. The right has the most stake in the dismantling of the incipient democracy, in which the left is becoming more influential.

Viola was not loved, and to cause his death and pin the blame on the left would not be unheard of. Other violence during the first half of January has included attacks on left-wing political offices by extreme rightists, and arms robbery—one of which was originally blamed on a Trotskyist group and later proven to be the work of the "Anti-Communist Army."

The police version of the Scala affair is not holding water; and the rapid spread of the Bulto connection version of the Viola deaths looks to many like a frame-up.

Right-wing propaganda has taken full advantage of the situation to frighten people into thinking that a restriction of liberty and more police control are in order—and unfortunately it seems to be having the desired effect in Spain, with its fresh memory of Francoism.

—Amy Schwartz
Iberian News Service

LATIN AMERICA

In Chile, no one talks to strangers

By Anne Maria Mergier

SANTIAGO, CHILE

BEYOND LIMA THE PLANE IS ALMOST empty—20 people are continuing on to Santiago. The animated talk ceases—my first contact with Chilean silence. Glances are exchanged. Everyone wonders why the others are going.

In Santiago airport everyone asks for outside newspapers and wants to know what people abroad say about Chile. Such direct questions strike me as suspicious. I am making my apprenticeship in mistrust. The first thing you learn is that you never know to whom you are talking. Days later a Chilean of the opposition would tell me: "That happens to us all. You learn to censor yourself 24 hours a day. If you do nothing against them you feel like a coward. If you commit yourself in any way, physical and spiritual fear enter you. A fear that never leaves you in peace even if you fight."

On the surface, all seems normal. Few police, and they reply amiably to requests for directions. No soldiers. Everything correct and clean. But soon one begins to feel something false. The stores sell cheap shoes and clothes on monthly installments. Many peddlers offering garbage bags, cheap toys; few people entering the stores. So much for the purchasing power of the middle class. In the Plaza de Armas, hard to find a place on a bench. Not only older people, but many 30-35 years old, sit there immobile for hours with closed and worried expressions. No work.

In cafes and public places no one will talk to a stranger. In two weeks I have seen only five inscriptions on walls, two saying "Junta Shit," the others just "NO."

Desire to hear the Chilean people's voice becomes an obsession. After four days, partly by luck, I found some who would talk in places I can't name for security reasons. Such contact is dangerous. I can't prove I'm a journalist—maybe I'm secret police. Some contacts are made on a half-trust, half-distrust basis. Impossible to get used to the terrible reality of

human relations in Chile. "They isolate us," says B., a student. "It's their most powerful weapon."

In the outskirts, hundreds of dirt-and-dust streets, deserted and suffocated in silence. Not a sound emerges from the precarious wooden hovels. But whole families live in them. They have no water but generally electricity. With a "safe contact" I manage to enter one: prostration, silence and despair within. Unemployed like thousands of Chileans, the man barely answers my questions. There are moments and places where words become indecent. Sometimes there is only the woman, who doesn't know where her man is. Father T. of a working class parish explains: "Some of the unemployed choose to abandon the family, but most of them disappeared for political reasons, and stay in hiding for the same reasons."

In the morning many women and girls take the bus to the center, looking for work they don't find. After many turn-downs they end up as prostitutes. They swarm everywhere, and a Brazilian on vacation confides that "that's one of the charms" of Santiago; "they're very cheap and really pretty." A Frenchman at the Sheraton says the same.

Surprisingly, in lower-class areas, fewer children than I expected. My escort takes me to A.'s house. She explains that since her last child two years ago she hasn't got pregnant. Many other women made the same confession to me. "They operated on us," said one with hatred. In Chile, sterilization without the woman's agreement is an alarming fact.

While TV and press hymn the "spectacular improvement," a sector of the Church has taken sides. They are insulted in the papers and the target of constant threats—one priest showed me over 100 anonymous letters couched in almost sick violence—and denounced by other religious people as "Marxist priests" or "bad Christians." Their fortnightly bulletin *Solidaridad* publishes critical information. It is not clandestine but appears on no newsstand—it is sold in churches. Not only Catholics read it. In the Chilean silence it is considered an important source of news. It reports fully

Wide World



General Augusto Pinochet at polling place during the Jan. 4 Chilean plebiscite he staged to gain a vote of confidence.

on the struggle of the Families of the Disappeared. In December it called on workers to break the silence. The same call to action and solidarity is heard in Sunday church services. In working-class areas the churches are full, and the pastor's words are heard with deep attention—always seeking a way to relate the Gospel with Chilean reality. The people are clearly incited to act: "We must not cross our arms saying we can't do anything. We must denounce injustice and the breaches of man's fundamental rights."

This sector of the Church has installed many children's dining rooms in working class areas, serving oatmeal, pasta and powdered milk. From 60 to 80 percent of the children are undernourished. When I entered one dining room a little girl fainted beside me. Infants of two and three, completely decalcified, have to be carried in. Children with grave psychic problems are beyond counting. They too eat in silence. A mother told me: "Two years ago I helped get the dining rooms

started. My husband had work then. I never thought that one day I'd need them for my kids." This is another part of the Chilean reality: the impressive impoverishment of the middle class. Said one of the organizers: "Sometimes we have to fight against the parents' pride. They used to live decently without being rich. Only when the first child dies do they send us the others."

Those who dare fight against the terrible police-bureaucracy of Chile need steel nerves to resist the humiliations, threats of jail, blows, blackmail and lies. Señora P., after touring all the jails in the country from north to south for three years, searching for her husband, has gone hopelessly insane. We visit her at home on this hot January evening. Thin, almost without hair, prostrate, she stares at me with empty eyes. Suddenly her body shakes and she lets out a terrible cry: "Manuel!"—her husband's name. She calms herself, returns to her prostration, and half an hour later begins to scream again.... ■

Nicaraguan priest joins the guerillas

SINCE THE ASSASSINATION LAST JANUARY OF PEDRO JOAQUIN Chamorro, newspaper editor and conservative leader of the Union Demócrata de Liberación (UDEL), protests and general strikes have swept Nicaragua and the UDEL has established closer ties with the Frente Sandinista de Liberación (FSLN) guerilla movement (ITT, Dec. 14, 1977 and Feb. 8).

Sacred Heart priest Gaspar García Laviana is among those who have joined the Sandinist armed struggle. His call to arms (excerpted below), circulated widely in Nicaragua, is translated by Blase Bonpane, a professor at California State University, Northridge, and a Maryknoll priest in Central America until his expulsion from Guatemala in 1967.

I came to Nicaragua from Spain, where I was born, to be a priest as a missionary of the Sacred Heart. I have served in this capacity for nine years. I threw myself into this apostolic work with great eagerness.

Soon I discovered that the hunger and thirst for justice of the poor and oppressed people I served as priest demanded the counsel of action rather than the counsel of words.

As an adopted Nicaraguan, I have seen the bleeding wounds of my people. I have seen the foul exploitation of farmworkers crushed under the boot of landowners diligently protected by the National Guard, that instrument of injustice and repression. I have seen how a few enrich themselves obscenely in the shadow of the Somoza dictatorship. I have been a witness to the subjugation of lower-income youth in filthy carnal traffic, thrown into prostitution by the powerful. I have seen directly the vileness, deception and thievery of the Somoza family.

They have been deaf to corruption and unmerciful repression, and they continue being deaf while my people are locked in each night in fear. My brothers and sisters suffer torture and prison for asking what is rightfully theirs: a country free and just in which robbery and murder disappear forever.

Just as the finest young people of Nicaragua are at war against oppressive tyranny, I too have determined to join them as the lowest of the soldiers of the Sandino Front. I do this because it is a just war, a war which the Holy Gospels call good and in my conscience as a Christian it is good. I do this because it repre-

sents the struggle against conditions which are hateful to the Lord, Our God. I do this because the documents of Medellín, written by the Bishops of Latin America, taught, "Revolutionary insurrection can be legitimate in the case of prolonged tyranny which gravely affects the fundamental rights of persons and endangers the common good of the country." ...

To any sincere officials or soldiers of the National Guard who through fear or necessity serve the cause of Somoza, I say that now is the time to get on the side of justice, which is the side of Our Lord. To you businessmen who have not participated in the corruption, to you decent farmers, to the technicians and professionals who reject the chaos and despotism of Somoza, I say for everyone there is a place of struggle on the side of the Sandino Front to bring dignity to our country.

To my brothers and sisters in the factories, in the shops, artisans, forgotten homeless people, those without jobs, those in the slums, the farmworkers, the lumbermen, cane cutters and migrants—to all those who have been robbed of opportunity in this land—I say it is the hour to enter the ranks of the Sandino Front. Let us unite our hands and our arms. The sound of our rifles cry justice in the mountains, in the cities and towns, and this sound is the sign of approaching redemption.

The participation of everyone in this insurrection will result in new light, and end the darkness of the Somoza dynasty.

And to my brothers and sisters who are Sandinistas in the northern front of Carlos Fonseca Armador, and in the northeastern front of Pablo Ubeda, and in the southern front of Benjamin Zeledon, and to the urban-resistance sectors in our cities, I send my firm conviction that we are going to build a day of triumph through the sacrifice of our fallen heroes. They personify the will of our people to struggle. This struggle is with revolutionary dedication and sacrifice which we make together with the national leadership of the Sandinistas: Henry Ruiz (Brother Modesto), Daniel Ortega (Brother Enrique) and Tomas Borge (Brother Pablo), who is now in the Somoza slaughterhouse.

The system of Somoza is sin. To liberate ourselves from oppression is to liberate ourselves from sin. ...

A free country or death!

—Gaspar García Laviana

This letter was printed in the *Los Angeles Times*, Feb. 2, 1978.

Special report from India

The new Indian regime must deliver

Wide World

By Mervyn Jones

EVEN A SHORT VISIT TO INDIA in early 1978 is heartening. After going through Indira Gandhi's Emergency regime, which held the country in a dictatorial grip from June 1975 to March 1977, Indians have returned with zest to the practice of democracy.

Why Gandhi ordered the 1977 election is still a matter of conjecture. It can best be seen as a kind of Napoleonic plebiscite; after securing a vote of confidence, she intended to make her authoritarian rule yet more intolerant. Others say that she needed to appear as a democrat for reasons of respectability (the advent of the Carter administration was a factor) and didn't want to be upstaged by Pakistan, then holding the first election in its history.

Undoubtedly, she reckoned to win. Opposition parties were in disarray after 18 months of virtual illegality, their organizations decayed, their funds zero, and their leaders jailed throughout the Emergency. Released just in time for the campaign, they had no chance to plan a strategy. The state radio, vital in a largely illiterate country, was a government propaganda weapon. The dice were so loaded that many opponents of the regime seriously considered boycotting the election.

Instead, they joined hands hastily in the new Janata (People's) party, a fusion of four parties ranging from left to right. The single slate was an advantage, indeed a necessity. Weeks before the vote, Gandhi was deserted by one of her key ministers, Jagjivan Ram, who aligned himself with Janata. The Indian people did the rest. Over most of the country, and most emphatically in the north-central "Hindi belt" which is India's Midwest, they went for Janata in landslide style.

India's Watergate.

The major factor, everyone agrees, was the forced sterilization drive. There's overwhelming evidence that men in towns and villages were picked up off the streets or yanked from buses, marched into tents, chloroformed, and compelled to undergo the operation.

Naturally enough, the record still embarrasses Gandhi. When I asked her about it, she said that she heard some reports of coercion while she was in power but they seemed to be rumors. She claims that members of Jan Sangh (an opposition party) infiltrated the sterilization teams and used coercive methods to discredit her government. That version, somehow, lacks credibility.

The later stages of this extraordinary woman's career can only be called tragic. She became dominated by her son, Sanjay, a cheap racketeer who enriched himself mightily during the Emergency, notably by using state money to start an auto factory that never produced a single car, and by sheer extortion. It was Sanjay, too, who bears the guilt for what are now called "the excesses"—forced sterilization, torture of political prisoners, and demolition of poor people's homes in areas projected for grandiose redevelopment.

A Commission of Inquiry, headed by a retired Chief Justice of India's Supreme Court, is now investigating the crimes and scandals. Watergate inevitably comes to mind as Sanjay's cronies—the Haldemans and Ehrlichmans of India—wriggle under the questioning of skilled counsel. For drama and for entertainment, the commission amply matches the Ervin committee. It isn't on television, but the stories are getting around on India's myriad grapevines and are building up a massive education in the dangers of arbitrary power.

Congress party split.

Congress, the party that ruled India from the coming of independence in 1947 to



After Indira Gandhi's Emergency regime, Indians return with zest to the practice of democracy.

the 1977 debacle, is today in ruins. It has split into two factions, one loyal to Gandhi and the other seeking to shrug off the evil legacy. Yeshwantrao Chavan, leader of the latter and a minister during the Emergency, is talking in a manner reminiscent of Khrushchev in 1956, pinning all possible blame on Gandhi personally. "We must say frankly that the emergency was never justifiable and Congress will never repeat such an action," he told me. Two southern states remained loyal to Congress in the 1977 poll, and State Assembly elections are due there on Feb. 25. The split Congress vote, it's expected, will lead to a Janata victory.

Communist victories

The Janata government can afford to neglect opposition from Congress but has to negotiate seriously with India's Communists. The Communist party of India has been divided since 1961. The right-wing group, keeping the original name, gradually became a hanger-on of Congress and ended up supporting the Emergency. The Communist party (Marxist) kept better contact with workers and poor peasants, notably in the important state of West Bengal. The CPI is now deep into self-criticism and is trying to build bridges with Socialists who are represented in the Janata government. There is also some possibility—if years of bitterness can be overcome—of reuniting the Communist movement.

In state elections, held last June, the CPM won a clear majority in West Bengal and formed a government. Some work has been done in securing minimum wages in the Calcutta industrial zone and in guaranteeing the sharecroppers of the rural areas a fair share of the harvest. In a smaller north-eastern state, Tripura, the

CPM has recently scored a landslide victory; with allied groups, it holds all the Assembly seats, neither Janata nor Congress having won a single district.

The indigenous people of this state are racially non-Indian and known officially as "tribal." Half the population, however, are Bengalis who settled there over the past 50 years. The CPM won by championing the interests of the tribals, who had been despised by all other parties, and building an alliance of poor people of both races against exploiting landlords.

A strange government.

What are the Janata government's policies? This is the wrong question, as I found when I put it to the party president, Chandra Sekhar. (He is a left-wing democrat, formerly on the progressive wing of Congress, jailed throughout the Emergency.) "The policies are fine," he said impatiently. "Mrs. Gandhi's policies were always fine too. What matters is performance."

He continued: "We're in office because of a tremendous upsurge from the rural areas. The elections showed that poor, illiterate people know how to assert themselves and judge a government. We must absolutely meet their demands—and that means that the rich must make sacrifices."

But what a strange government it is! Morarji Desai, the 82-year-old Prime Minister, belongs to the Nehru generation of Congress leaders and split away from Indira Gandhi in 1969, when his stand on the issues of the period placed him on the conservative side in relation to her. Other key ministers also come from the 1969 "Opposition Congress" group, while some were in Gandhi's government even during the Emergency and deserted her only when the election was called. Two

ministers, including Foreign Minister Vajpayee, belonged throughout their political lives to the Jan Sangh, a reactionary and Hindu-chauvinist movement. (Vajpayee himself, however, is reckoned a liberal in the Jan Sangh spectrum.) On the other extreme, three ministers are socialists. Among them is George Fernandes, the radical leader of the railroadmen's union who organized active underground resistance during the Emergency; he was caught, arrested, and would have faced a show trial but for the 1977 liberation.

Crisis now.

Fernandes, now Minister of Industry, has launched an economic program aimed at checking the power of India's large capitalists and of the multinationals whose investment has grown steeply in recent years. Under this program, expansion in a large range of production spheres—textiles, most chemicals and drugs, paper, many specified manufactured goods—will be permitted only for small-scale enterprises located away from the big cities. The aim is to cut into unemployment, which has reached frightening proportions and is basically a question of villagers surplus to agricultural needs; also to halt the growth of the big-city conurbations with their ghastly slums and restore a healthy balance between urban and rural areas.

I found Fernandes in a cheerful mood, driving ahead with his plans and so far meeting no political resistance. He must know, however, that pressures will some time be exerted against him and that the channel for these pressures will be some of his colleagues. The question, ultimately, is whether the restored democratic system will prove resilient enough to meet the demands of which Chandra Sekhar spoke. An Indian journalist remarked to me: "The Emergency was not the crisis of democracy—it was an aberration. The crisis of democracy is now." That judgment will be worth remembering.

Mervyn Jones writes for the *New Statesman* and is *IN THESE TIMES'* correspondent in Great Britain. He recently visited India.

JIMMY TH

By Rich



IN THE BRIEF SPAN OF LITTLE MORE than a decade, we have lived through the assassinations of John and Robert Kennedy and Martin Luther King Jr.; the urban riots and decay of our major cities; the national nightmare of Vietnam and Watergate. We have been shaken by doubts about our future as a people. Nations of the Third World have challenged our leadership in international affairs.

The struggle of blacks and the restlessness of youth have raised persistent questions about our system of values, the state of our institutions, and the viability of our economic and political system. We are facing a break in the continuity of the American experience.

These events have created tremendous anxieties—anxieties to which presidential candidate Jimmy Carter was able to relate as a religious man.

His ethical and religious language evoked strong emotional responses out of our past and offered us a promise for the future. His conviction and optimism, inspired by his religious faith, encouraged others to keep on struggling.

Carter's positions on major issues were often fuzzy, but his promises came through loud and clear. As president he would provide a new type of leadership in the White House, new opportunities for people to participate in the exercise of public power, and dynamic solutions to the overwhelming problems we face.

What are the chances that President Carter will be able to carry through on what candidate Carter promised?

We can't fully answer this question on the basis of his performance thus far. But we may get some clues as to what lies ahead if we look more closely at his religious stance and the way it affects his politics.

James T. Baker, in *A Southern Baptist in the White House* (Westminster Press, 1977), calls Carter a "born-again Baptist lay preacher" and claims that only by understanding the Southern Baptists can we understand the president.

This religious community constitutes the ethos out of which he functions, the world he brings with him to the White House. It shapes decisively his approach to social and political problems; it plays a major role in his understanding of the crisis of American life and his vision of the future.

I firmly believe that this is true. I also believe that, by looking at this evangelical heritage and its effect upon him, we may get some idea of how he will attempt to accomplish what he has promised.

Carter has stressed the need for new, dynamic leadership in the White House. Baker insists that a Baptist lay evangelist is in a unique position to provide precisely that. His religious experience offers him peace and serenity. His faith in God leads him to believe in the future of our country; it gives him a strong sense of commitment, the will to work hard, and the stamina to keep going. His religion is a tremendous source of strength, and this

can make of him a very dynamic leader.

All this is probably correct. But does it give Carter the qualities of leadership needed *at this time*? I doubt it, for several reasons:

This type of evangelical leadership is very high on motivation; it is often very naive in its understanding of what is demanded of a leader at a time when traditional solutions to social problems no longer prove effective. In such situations, the usual evangelical answer is: if only our political leaders are strong and trustworthy men, with high moral integrity and faith in God, our anxieties will be overcome and the present system will function once again.

This is precisely what Carter has said. "I cling to the principles of the Judeo-Christian ethic," says Carter. "Honesty, integrity, and humility are integral parts of any person's life."

By taking this approach, he has fallen into the trap of generations of evangelical preachers. Symbolic language is used in a magical way—with no clear connection to any specific problem.

Billy Graham can get away with this as long as he functions in the strictly religious sphere. When Carter projects this language into the political arena, he is headed for trouble. Magic is no solution to current problems. A more direct connection between ethical ideals and concrete social issues can be made only by going beyond the simplistic world view of traditional evangelicalism.

More serious are the native assumptions about the leader, his relationship to the people and the exercise of power native to Southern Baptist ecclesiology.

According to sociologist Paul Harrison, in his book *Authority and Power in the Free Church Tradition*, Baptists face a hard dilemma. On the one hand, they strongly believe in a divinely ordained form of church government in which all power belongs to the people. On the other hand, a large, rapidly growing and loosely structured denomination demands strong leadership to hold it together and give direction to its activities.

In this context leaders emerge with no clearly defined roles—or any clearly defined limitations on their power. A large church bureaucracy develops, but with no rational or structural ordering of power.

As Harrison puts it, "The Baptists are unwilling to confer authority upon their leaders and are equally unwilling to recognize that they have attained power apart from authority. Thus they do not possess adequate analytical instruments

to discern the existence of 'illegitimate authority'."

Consequently, Baptist leadership has a style of its own. The authority of the leader is highly pragmatic; it depends on his ability to achieve assigned goals quickly and efficiently. It is also personalistic and charismatic, being built upon certain personal qualities that attract a following and win spontaneous support.

All this leads to the exercise of power, at times inordinate power, without an acute awareness of the dangers inherent in it, or a sense of the ways in which power corrupts. In fact, to the extent that Baptists are immersed in their tradition, they cannot admit that this is a problem—much less deal with it theologically.

In the end the mystique about the leader's identification with the people tends to eliminate the problem. He is nothing more than the representative of the people, whom he serves and from whom he draws his strength. Thus, the important thing is that the leader be worthy of the people's trust, and constantly reassure them on this point.

His sense of independence, especially in relation to the government bureaucracy, could lead him to take important initiatives in shaking up and restructuring federal agencies.

But if he really believes that he is indebted to no one, several things may happen. He will, in his own way, continue to satisfy the demands of the most powerful economic and political forces in the country; but he will react in anger to those who accuse him of doing so, rather than struggling with the dilemmas facing him.

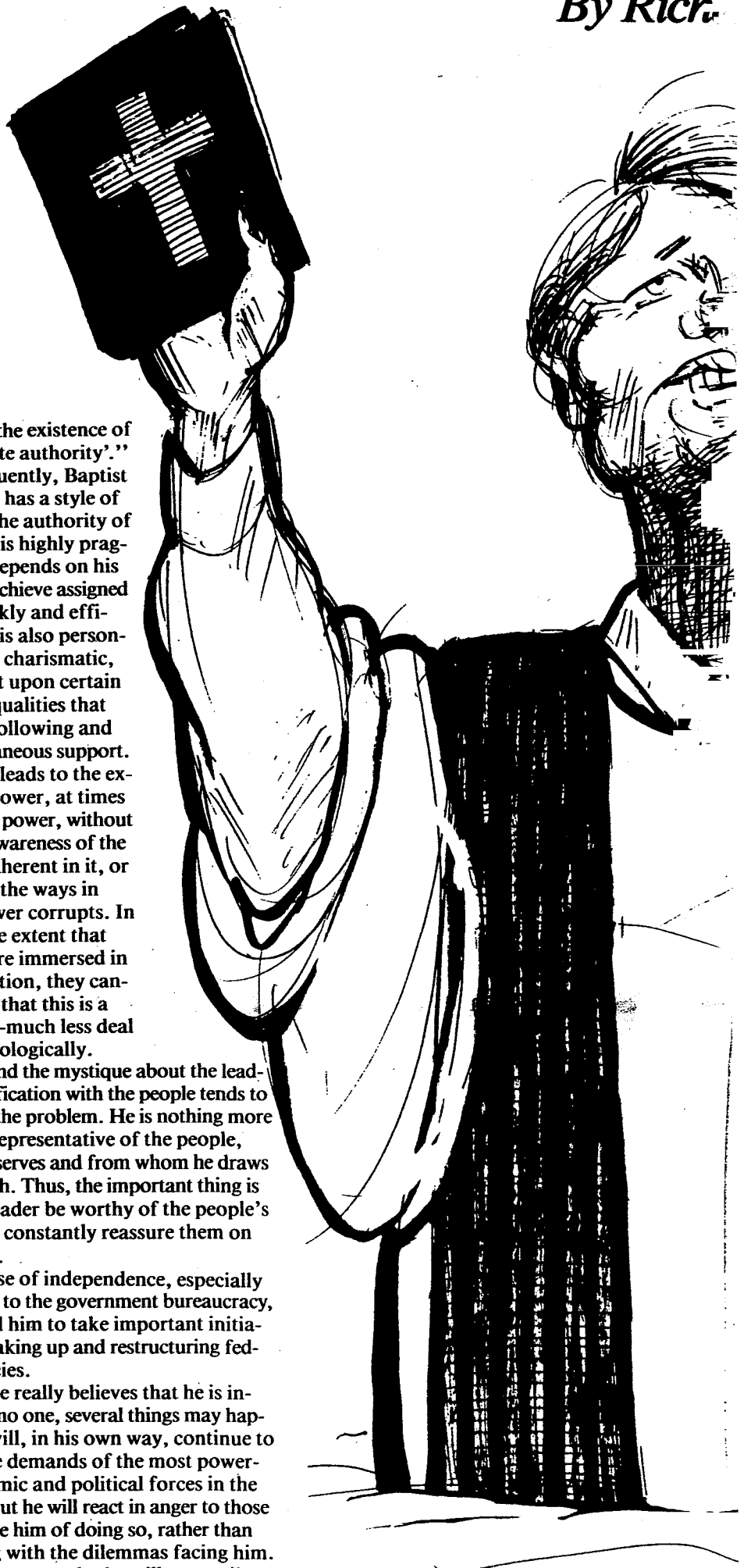
More importantly, he will too easily continue to forget the interests of blacks and others, who trusted in his promises enough to help elect him but who are relatively powerless against other pressure groups.

Gary Wills interviewed Carter shortly before his election. Wills asked Carter if he was afraid of winning, and got the instant reply, "No!"

Wills comments: "Yet he reads the New Testament as a devout Christian, and that book seems to be full of warnings against worldly power and place, against pride of office and the desire to rule others."

"I don't feel that at all, I don't know why," Carter told Wills. "I know miners, teachers, blacks, Jews. I have consulted the best minds on every subject. I am as well prepared as anyone has been, including Roosevelt back in the '30s. I draw my strength from my personal relationship with the American people."

All of this could add up to a new demonstration of the arrogance of power, this time on the part of someone who is convinced that he not only is on God's side but also represents "the American people."



*I know minis
Jews. I have consult
on every subject.
from my personal re
the Americ*

J.C

THE BAPTIST

Richard Shaull

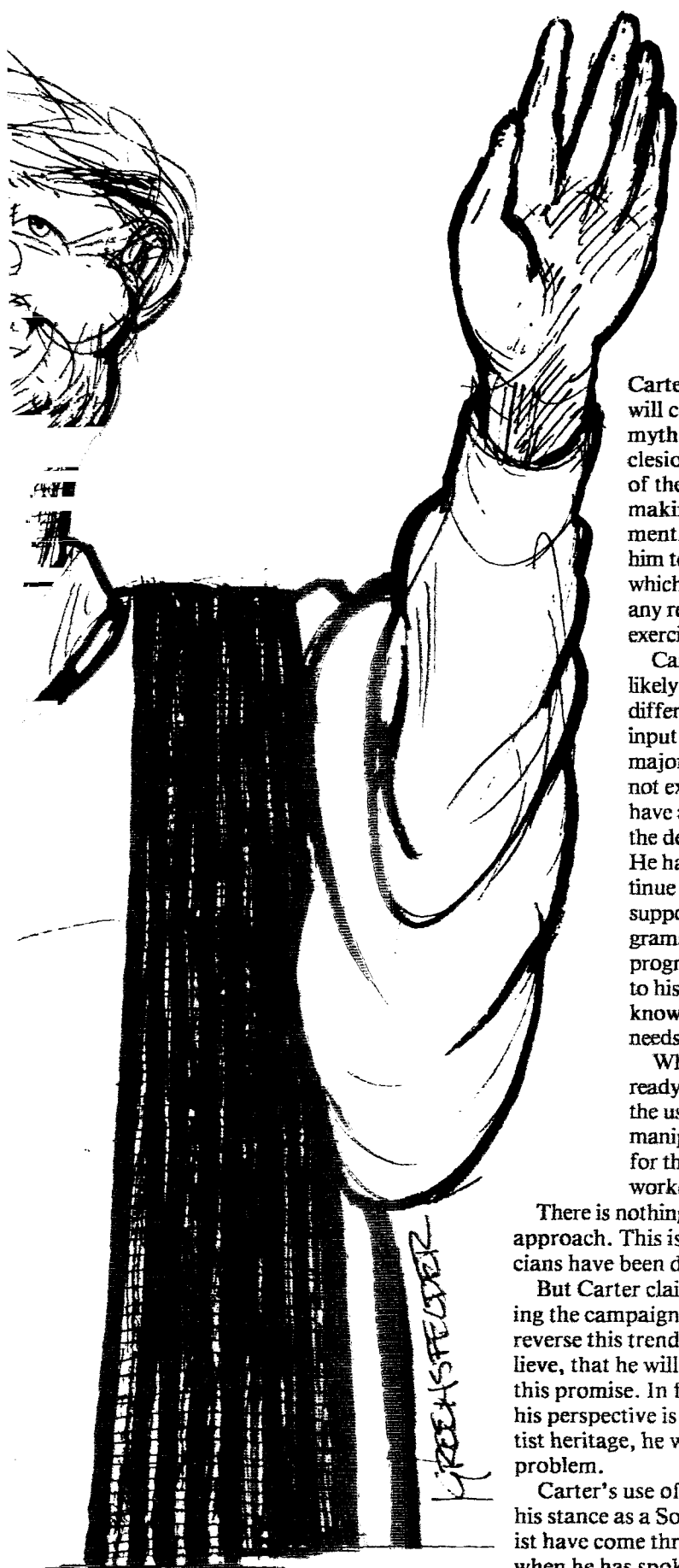


Illustration by Tom Grossfelder

s, teachers, blacks,
the best minds
I draw my strength
relationship with
people.

Carter, the Baptist, has and will continue to exploit the myth inherent in Baptist ecclesiology of the centrality of the people in the decision-making process of government. But we cannot expect him to develop structures by which the people will have any real participation in the exercise of public power.

Carter has begun and will likely continue to use many different tactics to get public input to decision-makers on major issues; but we should not expect that this input will have any significant effect on the decision-making process. He has tried and will continue to try to arouse popular support for his new programs. But they will be *his* programs—for he, faithful to his tradition, is sure he knows what the people's needs are.

Where this leads we already know: to reliance on the use of mass media to manipulate public support for those programs he has worked out.

There is nothing new, of course, in this approach. This is precisely what politicians have been doing for years.

But Carter claimed our support during the campaign because he promised to reverse this trend. It is now clear, I believe, that he will not follow through on this promise. In fact, to the extent that his perspective is determined by his Baptist heritage, he will not be aware of the problem.

Carter's use of religious symbols and his stance as a Southern Baptist evangelist have come through most powerfully when he has spoken of his concern for the poor and the dispossessed; in his campaign for racial equality at home and human rights abroad; his emphasis on love becoming operative as simple justice, and in his vision of the future of America as a nation.

Because of these emphases and the religious tone with which they have been expressed, he has won large numbers of the poor and powerless to his side, and appealed to many progressive middle class Christians and secular liberals. As one distinguished Catholic layman said to me just before the election: "When in recent history has a candidate for president spoken about compassion, love, and justice?"

I believe that Carter wants to do everything possible to minister to those segments of the population who are hungry, unemployed, without adequate medical care or housing. Moreover, his religious faith makes it possible for him to tackle these problems with vigor and courage. It leads him to hope that he will be able to break the power of widespread disillusionment and cynicism and arouse in many a new sense of commitment to help the dispossessed.

I am also convinced that, to the extent that his political stance is a product of his

religious background, he will not get very far in dealing with these problems at this juncture in our national history. Evangelical Christians, including Southern Baptists, work under serious limitations when they move into politics with this type of concern.

For example, social action means doing something for those in need. Judging from what Carter has said thus far he takes no exception to this view.

Herein lies a serious problem: As our society provides more and more services for people, it reduces them to objects, depriving them of the possibility of taking control of their own lives or shaping their own destinies. It has always led to the creation of a bureaucratic colossus which can neither meet the needs it has helped to create nor perform services efficiently.

The struggle ahead of us is more and more a struggle of women and men to be subjects, to find ways to take initiatives to solve their own problems, working together with those around them. And this requires nothing less than a radical restructuring of our major institutions. I see no evidence that Carter is aware of this problem.

Secondly, evangelicals have been noted for their naïve assumptions about the nature of institutions, the way they function, and how they can be renewed. Evangelicals see Spirit-filled individuals create and maintain religious and political institutions with faith and commitment, but with little or no concern for radical criticism of and eternal vigilance over those institutions.

Coupled with this is the conviction that certain institutional structures are divinely ordained; no matter how they develop or expand, or how times change, the principles on which they are built will remain valid.

Given this theology of institutions, two things can easily happen in any religious movement based upon it: If an institution does not work well, the explanation will be that the right people are not in charge or that it is not organized efficiently—not that there is something fundamentally wrong with the structure itself.

Carter believes that as Americans we have the right goals, the right institutions and structures; what is needed is to make them work. The issue, as he sees it, is one of revitalization.

In *Why Not the Best?* Carter said: "We now have a willingness and even eagerness to restore in our country what has been lost—if we have understandable purposes and goals and a modicum of bold and inspired leadership."

This approach to institutions, when espoused by evangelical Christians in positions of security and privilege, carries with it the belief that justice can be established without transforming the structures that create injustice.

This belief is so widespread that the need for fundamental changes in social structures is usually not even seen as a problem, except among a few individuals and small groups.

Carter, I believe, is no exception. The central thrust of his politics is for revitalization of unjust structures and inefficient institutions—not their transforma-

tion. At this juncture in our history, this approach is a dead end.

The anxieties to which Carter has spoken so powerfully have arisen because our present structures are neither working well nor leading to justice. No amount of revitalization will cure that situation.

The mainstream of evangelical Christianity, to which Carter belongs, tends to obscure the issue of structural change rather than clarifying it. The temptation is to use religious symbols in such a way as to promise us a future on the basis of an idealized past. This is essentially what Carter has done.

When he announced his candidacy on Dec. 12, 1974, he said: "It is time for us to reaffirm and to strengthen our ethical and spiritual and political beliefs." Later he commented: "I have no new dream to set forth today, but rather urge a fresh faith in the old dream."

Religious language can easily be used to maintain this illusion. But in the end it will break down, discrediting religion as well as the political leaders who use it, and creating even more widespread disillusionment. That, I fear, is what lies ahead of us, as long as Carter's vision is bounded by the limitations of his evangelical Southern Baptist background.

Ultimately, the problem is not Carter's. It is the problem of the religious establishment from which he comes. An adulterated, acculturated Christianity has produced men and women of such limited vision because it has lost some of the most essential elements in its own history.

The Bible confronts us with a God who tears down in order to build up, who stands in judgment on structures of injustice and destroys the old order to open the way for greater justice. The Christian story speaks of a process of death and resurrection, of a New Heaven and a New Earth. It challenges us to adopt a messianic vision of the future, a vision of a radically new order.

That order can be created only as we discover our freedom in faith to let go of those structures that imprison and destroy us, and to risk moving through confusion and chaos toward a transformed society.

Whatever happens to the Carter administration in the next few years, his adoption of a dynamic religious stance may compel the Christian churches in America to make a choice: either immersion in an acculturated Christianity, used to shore up the old order, or the rediscovery and living-out of a vision of a transformed nation.

That choice on the part of religious communities will set the terms for the future engagement of religious faith and politics in America.

*Richard Shaull teaches ecumenics at Princeton Theological Seminary. He is co-author with Gustavo Gutierrez of *Liberation and Change* and co-author with Carl Oglesby of *Containment and Change*. Shaull served as a missionary in South America for 20 years. This article originally appeared in *Sojourner*, 1029 Vermont Ave. NW, Washington, DC 20005, subscriptions \$12/year.*

IN THESE TIMES

Editorial

Coal miners: not free or equal

Just before the United Mine Workers went out on strike early last December, many of the coal and utility corporation executives made statements indicating that they were looking forward to the walkout with about the same gleeful anticipation with which a child looks forward to Santa's dropping in on Christmas eve. They had, they gloated, stockpiled enough coal to last out the strike; they could expect a booming coal demand during and after the strike and hence healthy prices and profits; and unlike the striking workers, the executives would continue to draw their pay during the strike affecting not at all the amount of Christmas goodies they could lavish upon their children and loved ones.

The strike may have seemed to the corporate executives to promise another, even bigger gift from Santa: Coming in the midst of divisions within the union it could well be the occasion for humbling the miners and forcing upon them new regulations preventing work stoppages, eroding safety procedures, and speeding up production. In fact, that is what the agreement just rejected by the UMW bargaining council tries to do.

But the executives did not count on Old Man Winter following so ferociously upon Santa's heels, turning their visions of sugar plums into frozen chestnuts that they now want President Carter to pull out of the snowbanks for them.

The corporations incant the glories of the "free market" when it comes to opposing proposals for government measures to impose standards of social responsibility in the energy industry, but now that their strike strategy has backfired they are all for government playing Santa for them in February and coming to the rescue in a sleigh of Taft-Hartley injunctions and the olive drab uniform of the National Guard.

This strike has its own special circumstances, but it is no different from all others in making palpable the class inequality inhering in the everyday life of people in our capitalist society and in the way the law prescribes the ground rules for and intervenes in social conflicts.

When workers strike they lose wages and payments into health and pension funds; they risk their job security and their savings. But the corporate executives continue drawing their pay. Their health and pension funds remain unaffected. They also, of course, retain physi-

cal possession of the plant and can rely on the police to protect their property.

The workers' labor, on the other hand, is not recognized as giving them a vested equity in the plant, though it is much more an "investment" of body, mind, and soul, much more of a risk than the capitalists' investment of money (usually other people's).

While on strike, moreover, workers can not legally retain possession of any part of the plant, but can expect the police to prevent them from attempting to do so. Property rights are not simple matters of economics but the shorthand reference to unequal relations of power enforced by the law.

The strike weapon is absolutely essential to workers' ability to defend themselves from exploitation and assaults upon their human dignity at the hands of their employers. But with each use, it also reminds us of the essentially unequal relationship between capital and labor. It is an unequal weapon, defensive in nature, as against the weapon of property ownership and its legal protection.

Nevertheless, in the media, a strike is almost always portrayed as "caused" by the workers. It is they, after all, who must visibly stop work and walk out and picket. The employers only have to sit still. They don't *do* anything observable—except fail to bargain in good faith with the workers. That is the real cause of strikes, but no one can "see" that, and the media seldom calls attention to it.

Workers' resort to violence or other forms of coercion is the concomitant of their not possessing the plant—that is, their means of labor. The employers' routine aggression against workers' living standards, working conditions, physical health and safety, their lives and their human dignity, go unnoticed as the cause of strikes. Their maneuvers against striking workers appear in the media as only a reaction to workers' "aggression," or appear in the armed might of the law "restoring order in the public interest," that is, enforcing the rights of property.

Consider the implications of class inequality residing in the Taft-Hartley injunction power. It is more than in the obvious way in which the injunction strengthens management against labor in the bargaining contest. More fundamentally, it lies in the fact that while labor may be forced to "supply" its "factor of production" on terms unsatisfac-



This strike, like all others, demonstrates the inequality of classes in capitalist society, and the way the law prescribes ground rules for social conflict and intervenes in behalf of capital.

tory to it, there is no injunctive power that can force capital to "supply" its factor" on terms (profits) unsatisfactory to it. Capital can go on an investment strike with no fear of legal reprisal or interference; labor cannot. The marketplace is neither free nor equal in the relations between capital and labor.

These are some of the broader, and deeper, issues dramatized by the coal strike. We will discuss the specific issues concerning the strike's significance in next week's issue, which will carry a spe-

cial eight-page section on the strike. For now, we want to stimulate reflection on the broader meaning of strikes in capitalist America and of this strike in particular.

The strike weapon is indispensable to workers in their battle with capital for decent income, working conditions, and dignity in the labor process. Under the existing system of property and law that is taken for granted as "normal," it is also a sign of class domination and social inequality. ■

Multinational murder, incorporated

First we had multinational corporations. Now, apparently, we have multinational murder, incorporated.

The U.S. government, like many others, has for decades employed criminal means to counter or eliminate those regarded as its enemies at home and abroad. Those governmental practices and their glorification in novels, movies, and TV programs, bear a large responsibility for creating an environment encouraging resort to terrorism by non-governmental groups and individuals. Their use abroad moreover, has reverberated to corrupt the political process and violate civil liberties at home.

Despite President Carter's executive order restraining covert and illegal activities by U.S. intelligence agencies, the question still remains as to the extent to which this government is involved either directly or by cooperation with agencies

of other governments, in employing terroristic methods of suppression against political enemies.

The latest cause for renewed concern arises from Mexican press reports last January. On Jan. 16 an Argentine national, Tulio Valenzuela, defected and told a press conference in Mexico City that "The Argentine military junta sent me here to infiltrate among the exiles and collaborate in the assassination of their leaders." He named names—of Argentine exiles targeted for death and of his superiors within the Argentine junta. He had come to Mexico, he said, "with an 'operational group'" sent by the Argentine junta. His operation was of the "left-handed" variety, that is, without the collaboration of the Mexican government. As the liberal Mexican newspaper *Uno Mas Uno* pointed out, that indicates there may also be "right-handed" operations, those with

intergovernmental collaboration.

Uno Mas Uno indeed concludes that Valenzuela's revelations implicitly confirmed the existence of "an international of political crime" among "the dictatorships of such countries as Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, Bolivia and Brazil." It listed many exiles—though only a few of the total number—from Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, and Bolivia who in the past several years have been kidnapped, assaulted, or murdered.

In view of the fact that among these governments are those the U.S. aids as bastions of "stability," and in view of the activities in the U.S. of the Iranian secret police (SAVAK) and of Taiwanese government agents, and in view of the still "unsolved" murder of Chilean exile leader Orlando Letelier in Washington, D.C., we must ask the same question of the U.S. government that the Mexican

press is raising with its government: Is the CIA or any other U.S. government agency complicit in "left-handed" or "right-handed" terrorist operations either in the U.S. or abroad? Is there a government-level multi-national murder, incorporated, and is the U.S. government or any of its agencies or personnel a part of it?

Congress should investigate this matter. It also warrants being brought before the United Nations with no less urgency than the questions of sky-jacking and nongovernment terrorism. Publicity will be a first step in moving against such operations and may exercise restraint on the U.S. and other governments engaging or contemplating involvement in them.

The cause of human rights and political and social democracy in the U.S. as well as abroad requires vigilance against both government by terror and organized terrorism by governments. ■

Letters

East is East

HO HUM. WELL, THE LETTERS are getting boring again. The fire seems to have gone out of your readers, if the current missives are any indication. Congratulations, invitations and corrections are all very well, but where are the nuts?

But my dissatisfaction with *ITT* is not restricted to the letter-writers. I'm disappointed that *ITT* has failed to come to terms with the biggest political-cognitive scandal of the century! Time after time, *ITT* writers refer to China, Japan and the rest of Asia as "the East" while calling Europe and America "the West". These labels are a holdover from the days of European imperialism when the cartographers looked at the world through ethnocentric telescopes.

Is it too late to strike a blow for reality and come to our senses? Asia is to the West of us, and Europe is to the East! Check it out. Yet week after week *ITT* helps perpetuate the notion that just the opposite is the case. No wonder the working class is confused!

—Jay Kinney
San Francisco

A Hollywood red

IN THESE TIMES IS THE MOST important new paper in the country. It has a way of communicating both political news and consciousness without alienating the reader.

I live in Hollywood and this is not a very political area, so when I show people the paper most people are skeptical or apathetic but after reading it most of the reaction is very positive.

Sometimes certain articles piss me off, but a paper that creates discussion and debate is much healthier than one that becomes more like a person's opinion. There are many opinions on the left and only if we have debate and discussion can we come to the right solution.

Keep up the good work.

A Hollywood red.

—Danny Peck
Hollywood, Calif.

More on Humphrey

MAY I SUGGEST A DIFFERENT view of the opinions expressed by Kenick G. Kissel in his article about Hubert Humphrey (*ITT*, Jan 25)?

"With the Cold War heating up," says Mr. Kissel, "Communist presence in the DFL would have been an increasingly costly liability, and Humphrey and others decided that the left would have to be purged."

This statement suggests, perhaps not purposely, that the Cold War came from heaven and was not the result of policies consciously and deliberately conceived and pursued by Humphrey and many like him. After World War II not only the question of foreign relations, but also the issue of delivering on the promises made to people during the war—promises essentially of abundance and security—were the focus of political struggle. Partly for international reasons, but very largely to deny the people the fruits of the war effort and to turn back to the status quo ante of unemployment, racism, insecurity and poverty a rightist offensive was launched in political parties, in the labor movement, in communities. The rightist offensive was aimed at a much broader group of citizenry than just the Communists, and had a more reactionary and profound objective than simply avoiding a "costly liability."

It was the tragedy of the time that Joe McCarthy, and people like Humphrey, by falsely pointing the finger of alarm

at "Communists," did succeed to a degree in concealing their larger reactionary motives, and postponed until today the popular solution of economic and social problems that could have been and should have been achieved in the '40s and '50s.

—James H. Durkin
Forest Hills, N.Y.

"Fit" to rule?

BY AND LARGE, I FIND *ITT* A welcome break from the majority of left publications with their "correct line" approach.

Distressingly, however, I am beginning to see more and more social democratic arguments pushing the idea that "socialist" formations within capitalist society are more "efficient," in the capitalist sense of the word. If this is true, which I highly doubt, it is irrelevant to the idea of socialism, which is not based on profit, but on human needs. Socialism can only be more efficient in a socialist world, where it can utilize full human potential and cut down on material waste, but it can never compete on the basis of profit, since profit is squeezed out of the workers.

I found Jane Hilowitz's article (*ITT*, Feb. 1) particularly irksome. The PCI, she says, is more "fit" to rule Italy, because they have the power and will to force austerity on the workers. If I were an Italian worker and had read that, I think I would be inclined to vote for the Christian Democrats—or join Lotta Continua and the revolutionary left.

—Duane Poncy
Bend, Ore.

Out of control

AS A FORMER PSYCHIATRIC aid on the adolescent ward of one of the "best" private psychiatric hospitals in the nation, I can attest to the abuses of the seclusion room that the plaintiffs in *Rogers v. Okin* mention (*ITT*, Jan. 18). Most insidious is the defense notion that patients "desire subconsciously the very medication and treatment they outwardly reject." This Catch-22 idea often takes the form of "He's insisting that he wants more responsibility within the hospital, more trust and respect. Hah! What he's really trying to tell us is that he wants us to take more control of him, trust him less."

Doctors and nurses interpret anything the patient says to mean what they want the patient to say. Their power and need for control are absolute.

Re seclusion: although punishment theoretically doesn't exist, seclusion is continually used to "teach them a lesson." (It is true that sometimes a patient should be secluded before he gets to the point of setting himself on fire, if a competent staff can recognize the usual pattern of precursing behavior.)

The difference between the 16-year-old mentally retarded girl being "out of control and suicidal" and needing attention and support, is false. She and many other teenagers are truly out of control because of a need not only for attention and support but purposeful work in our society. Until the "outside world" can provide the kind of community, meaningful work, and useful place in society for kids growing up, our mental hospitals and jails will be full of them.

—Andre Papantonio
Baltimore, Md.

No points for our T.D.

TWO RECENT ARTICLES BY T.D. Allman, "Little Help for the Cities" and "Newark Struggling to Rebuild," (*ITT*, Jan 11 and Feb 1) seem to be misplaced in a socialist newspaper. In the former, Allman tells us that the cities are starving because Carter "with his rural, business and Southern background" doesn't really understand the cities. On the other hand, the article pre-

sents monopoly corporate financier Felix Rohatyn of the Emergency Financial Control Board as a friend of urbanism. Rather than provide us with an analysis of the urban crisis and connecting it to the crisis of capitalism, Allman reduces the country's neglect of its cities to individual attitudes.

Then we are treated to a glowing picture of Newark's Mayor Gibson. We are not given any information concerning the role Newark's corporate establishment, particularly Prudential Life Insurance, played in making Mayor Gibson into a moderate bulwark against the demands of anti-capitalist blacks. While Allman completely avoids any discussion of who rules Newark, he gives his opinion of the causes of the city's decay: the flight of the "middle-class." And accordingly, he pays homage to Gibson for trying to attract them back to Newark. Apart from revealing a prevalent attitude that a "middle class" makes for a better environment he accepts the myth that a return of the "middle-class" alone improves the lives of poor people. On the contrary, the "middle-class" demands for housing and more costly social services are just two of the many pressures that negatively affect the conditions of the urban poor.

—Mark Lazerson
Brooklyn, N.Y.

Self reliance

I'VE BEEN FOLLOWING THE discussion you've been running on the Nazi parade controversy in Skokie with all the mixed feelings of someone who is a socialist, a civil libertarian, and a Jew. The civil liberties legal arguments cannot convince me that such Nazi organizing is safe or safely tolerated. But I am unable to see how the abandonment of the right to speak and parade will in any way aid socialists, unionists, or dissenters. The forces of social control will discover excuses to act against anyone they choose to consider dangerous, but is it wise for socialists to openly advocate laws or policies making such actions easy?

Is it farfetched to imagine a coalition supporting the First Amendment rights of the Nazis and then, simultaneously, asserting their own through a massive anti-fascist march, timed to coincide with a miniscule Nazi rally? Skokie would hardly be in a position to block the progressive group.

Such a course has many advantages. Not only would it attract the media attention that the Nazis would otherwise receive, it would emphasize progressive strength and commitment to free speech. Popular unity on an anti-Nazi rally would also strengthen ties between many issue-oriented groups not now working together—labor, women's groups, pro-ERA, ACLU, black and Chicano organizations, etc. Moreover, in a community such as Skokie, and on such an issue, progressives could attract members of the Jewish and liberal communities whose own dominant ideologies are crumbling: making this march a positive step in broadening a progressive base.

—Albert I. Berger
Los Angeles

Little Fords?

POLITICAL IDEAS STAND AND fall on the merits of their truth. To call socialism "economic democracy" as Derek Shearer suggests (*ITT*, Feb. 8) is like calling VWs *little Fords*, a transparent white lie. Shearer means well and we are all aware of his credentials, but if I were searching for a political philosophy, I'd rather listen to the man that tells me straight that he is a socialist. Otherwise I couldn't trust him.

—Art Liebrez
Annandale, Va.

A minor dose

DR. STERNGLASS (*ITT*, FEB. 15) is right in saying there is "no certainty" in the population radiation dose that *could* have resulted from the crash of the Soviet nuclear satellite in Canada Jan. 24. But then, there is no certainty in any of the statistics Sternglass has used for years! But there is certainty that this satellite did crash and that the radiation dose actually seems minor. Is this a case, like natural radiation, where bad results only show when Sternglass does the calculation?

I suppose eventually the people will find out the truth.

—W.J. Mecham
La Grange, Ill.

To err is human—and embarrassing

I THOUGHT THAT YOUR EDITORIAL, "The Full Employment Shell Game" (*ITT*, Feb. 1), was one of your better ones. It clearly explained how corporate economists are admitting that full employment and capitalist economics are incompatible. I especially agree with you that... "If the corporate partisans... attack it [full employment and democratic investment control] as socialism, then in all candor let us take up the challenge and rely on the good sense of the American people, as well as their interests."

It seems, unfortunately, that your own candor is lacking when you unceremoniously drop your epithet "The Independent Socialist Newspaper."

—Daniel Neal Graham
Chapel Hill, N.C.

Editor's Note: The sub-logo was "unceremoniously dropped"—on the production floor. We discovered the omission to our embarrassment two weeks ago and put it back where it belongs.

But to do it so often is just plain awful

AS A SUPPLEMENT TO GERARD Chaliand's article on Ethiopia (*ITT*, Feb. 8) you included a map of the region. Curiously, where the State of Israel should be marked your cartographer wrote "Palestine." Clearly such a map reflects a view against recognition of Israel's right to exist as a state. Do you in fact hold such a view? If this was not simply a mistake, I would appreciate an editorial explaining your opinion. If it was an error an apology would seem to be in order.

—Gary Kates
Forest Park, Ill.

Editor's note: This is "simply" an error, but a serious one that we greatly regret.

Editor's Note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

BE A MINI-DISTRIBUTOR OF ITT

Order bundles of 5 (10, 15, up to 25) copies of **IN THESE TIMES** to be mailed directly to you every week for three months. You pay us in advance, at 20¢ a copy, and help our circulation grow!

Are you a natural?

Then fill in the coupon below:

Name _____
Street _____
Town/State/Zip _____
Send me a bundle of _____ copies.
\$_____ enclosed is payment for 3 months, at 20¢ each copy.

Barbara Ehrenreich

Ehrenreich's Corner

You are what you don't eat

When a friend first called to tell me about the end of the grape and lettuce boycott, I of course shrugged off the news. "Another trick from the Gallo gang," I told her. "Go back to Romaine until you hear it straight from Chavez." And I went back to reading the paper. If the boycott was really over, there'd probably be a special supplement on salad ideas for iceberg wedges or cooking with Gallo—or at least picture spreads of pandemonium at the produce stands.

But no, there was only a two-inch brief somewhere around page 10: The United Farm Workers had announced the end of the boycott. Adding insult to astonishment, there was a quote from an industry spokesman to the effect that the growers wouldn't even have known there was a boycott if Chavez hadn't announced its termination.

Obviously the growers had never met my kids. For example, last Christmas we were winding up an extended (in every sense) family dinner at a relative's house. The adults were still sitting around the table burping, and the children were skirmishing in the living room, when my daughter walked up to me with a look of solemn horror on her face. "Look, mommy," she said, opening her fist. "It's a grape."

"That's what it is alright," I whispered, squishing it discretely in my napkin. "We'll talk about it later in the car."

Maybe every kind of faith needs some sort of dietary laws, just as a way of passing on the teachings to the young. My children have never known the Lenten penance of tuna fish casserole or the Orthodox prohibition on ham and cheese sandwiches. But they knew about grapes and lettuce. And they knew that somewhere beyond the sumptuous, Muzak-filled supermarket were fields where other little children missed school to stoop and pick, breathe insecticides, go home at night to barrack-style company



"I have to confess I never did boycott the wine."

houses. Eating a grape would be a political act—an act that in a seven-year-old's political universe would place you on the side of rich people against poor, bad against good, and those who don't care about kids against those who do.

So I thought we ought to mark the passing of the boycott with a bit of ceremony. Maybe, I thought, the growers would even notice the little upward sales blip as I checked out of the supermarket with three heads of iceberg lettuce and a pound of grapes.

The kids were puzzled. "How do you cook the iceberg lettuce?" the five-year-old asked. "Well, I had it in a restaurant once," a bigger kid offered. "And I think you soak it overnight in lukewarm water and serve it with a mixture of mayonnaise and sugar." "How about the grapes," a kid wanted to know. "Can you eat the peels?"

Then came the hardest question of all: "Does this mean the farm workers won?"

"Hmm," I evaded. "They won some things. Yes. Then they got tired of running the boycott I guess. Unions have lots of things to do, you know. Like they have to manage the contracts."

"What's a contract?"

"That's an agreement that the union makes with the bosses that the workers will do their work and the bosses will pay them a certain amount of money."

"I didn't know they agreed on anything," says my daughter, who will either be a brilliant lawyer someday or a first-class nit-picker. "I thought they were mad at each other."

The point is that kids take boycotts very seriously. It's one of the ways they learn about strikes and dictatorships and other things that never show up in the second grade curriculum. So, even without grapes and lettuce to talk about, I'll continue to use the weekly shopping trip as a guided tour of corporate capitalism:

"Nestle's Kwik?" "I already explained

how Nestle's tries to trick poor mommies into buying their brand of baby formula instead of nursing them. ...No, of course the babies don't drink chocolate milk... Nestle's is a big company and it makes lots of things and they don't care whether they're good for kids or not... Couldn't we just get this Hersheys?"

"Tuna fish? But when they catch the tuna they get some dolphins who happen to be swimming around the tuna and we read in your book how if there's a sick dolphin the other dolphins will help him. ...Yeah, I mean him or her... Plus which some scientists say they can talk. I mean they're like people and how would you feel about eating a chunk of one in your tuna salad?"

"Wonder Bread? Remember what happened in Chile with those bad guys taking over everything and killing so many people, especially the poor people—well, the company that makes Wonder Bread is on the side of those bad guys and helped pay them to take over. I wouldn't touch anything they make—not even the Beefsteak Rye."

"Orange juice? Yeah, I know we've always had it. But we talked about this already how the orange juice companies are against gay people... That's right, women who especially love women and men who especially love men. It's like being against love. So what do you say we get this apple juice and pop a few vitamin C pills now and then."

For all I know the corporations couldn't care less, but every parent needs some nutritional principles to go by. Some mothers ban hot dogs and go for the brown rice and granola. I'll continue to shop by the boycotts. What better way for a kid to learn about capitalism and imperialism and heterosexism than at the dinner table? Better to have known about the grape pickers all these years than to have experienced a grape.

You are what you eat.

Ethel Taylor

SALT talks don't end armaments they maintain a balance of terror

I have great reservations about the whole area of arms control/limitation. I do not see it as steps to disarmament—I see SALT II as a codification of the arms race. I told this to Paul Warnke and he replied that he had always thought this was so. (Of course, now in his position he can no longer think this is so.)

We have wasted too many years increasing weaponry in order to negotiate from strength and we can't waste any more. If it's disarmament we want—then it's disarmament we should be working for.

As far back as 1971, I.F. Stone, responding to Nixon's gleeful statement that SALT encourages "bargaining chips," said—"Thus the SALT Talks continue to serve as a cover for an intensified arms race. Arms control negotiations have become the Pentagon's chief weapon in disarming the movement against the arms race."

In *Science* magazine of Aug. 2, 1977, George Kistiakowsky and Herbert York said this about SALT—"This numerical SALT Agreement does not really restrict the arms race; it merely channels it into such directions as each side perceives to be militarily most advantageous."

On a news broadcast not long ago, Walter Cronkite announced that a breakthrough had taken place in U.S.-USSR discussions. The Russians had agreed not to insist upon the limited range for our cruise missile but would agree to up to 1,300 miles range. The administration

felt that the Soviet Union is easing its opposition because they are developing a cruise missile and do not want its range to be limited by us. A gentlemen's agreement?

The Arms Control and Disarmament Agency lists in its primer what Arms Control is. Included in the list is the following description—"Arms Control may favor some advances in weapon technology, such as those that make missiles less prone to accidental launching and less vulnerable to surprise attack because these advances would make for a more stable deterrent force." So—Arms Control can mean production of the MX Mobile Missile!

Samuel H. Day Jr., in his final editorial in the *Bulletin of Atomic Science*, December 1977, said, "It is my hope that the *Bulletin* will continue to play its part by finding imaginative ways of scaring the hell out of people...and will continue to probe the underlying societal problems which propel the world toward nuclear oblivion. One of them is the sidetracking of disarmament efforts in 'Arms Control' programs which have served only to bring legitimacy, order and a measure of predictability to the international arms race while lulling the public into a false sense of security. Arms control has proven in practice to be the virtual opposite of disarmament."

No concept has been more central to SALT negotiations than that of the bar-

gaining chip—the idea that the development of new weapons systems may stimulate an agreement. President Nixon and Laird argued that success of SALT I was a direct result of the decision to go ahead with Safeguard ABM, the Poseidon submarine and Minuteman III. They insisted that any subsequent success in SALT II would depend on whether Congress would approve a new set of bargaining chips such as the Trident submarine, the B-1 Bomber or the cruise missile.

Jimmy Carter, during his campaign, stated that a bargaining chip policy was not a "viable procedure and as a general principle was a foolish approach." But with the failure to reach an immediate SALT II agreement with the Soviets last March, Carter warned that he would be forced to consider acceleration of American weapons development, if he judged the Soviets were no longer negotiating in good faith.

MIRV was our bargaining chip and now the Russians have it and so it goes with the cruise missile. Can this be called arms limitation?

William Epstein, formerly the director of the Disarmament Division of the UN, said in the *Bulletin of Atomic Science*, June 1977, "The SALT agreements put no limitation or restriction on the technological or qualitative ceilings for offensive nuclear weapons. Each side is now engaged in a technological race for maximum improvement or perfection of its

deterrent. And so the nuclear race is proceeding apace and moving in the direction of infinite killing power whereas the purpose of strategic arms limitation negotiations should be to move in the direction of zero killing power."

If SALT II is not moving in the direction of "zero killing power" and is moving in the direction of "infinite killing power"—how can we support it? I don't find it a valid reason to be told that the arms control agreements *do not control*. I believe we have to create a third position and not be co-opted into one side or another so we can tell it as it is. I'm aware that many groups are supporting SALT II, but Women Strike for Peace (WSP) has never hesitated to expose the Emperor as a flasher and I don't think we should now. I think our job is to tell the people what SALT is not and what it should be.

We rejected "Negotiate Now" during the war—we were consistent in our demand for "Out Now." Remember when we were asked how we could get "Out Now"—we answered "By ship!" If we are asked how we can possibly get disarmament, we answer—"By starting on it!"

Ethel Taylor is a national coordinator of Women Strike for Peace and a commissioner of the International Women's Conference (Houston). This column first appeared in La Wisp, February 1978, the Monthly News Bulletin of Southern California WSP.

PERSPECTIVES

□ FOR A NEW AMERICA □

Democracy's defense means capitalism's end

By Herman Rosenstein
and Arthur H. Landis

Independence! Electoral pluralism! Hegemony of the 'historic bloc'! Internationalism! The concepts are an amalgam of the old and the new, as expounded by Sr. Santiago Carrillo, General Secretary of Spain's 300,000-member Communist party (PCE). They become united in a clarity that bespeaks both the urgency of our times and the historical lessons learned by those who have dared to think, and *act*, beyond existing dogmas.

These concepts are the strategy for socialism of the Communist parties of Italy and Spain, which stress the achievements and extension of democratic liberties and human rights as a prime requisite in winning electoral mandates—deemed central to the struggle for the total transformation of capitalism.

Carrillo states bluntly that 'Eurocommunist' views of the state in advanced capitalist democracies differ from Lenin's theses of 1917-1918. The reasons: A change in economic structure and the objective expansion of progressive social forces, including the explosive development of the productive forces due to the scientific and technological revolution, including nuclear energy and the advance of socialism, decolonization and the defeat of fascism in World War II.

Breaking with the dogma of smashing the existing military state apparatus and replacing it with a people's militia as the single road to power, Carrillo proposes new tactics. "A prime task for socialists," he argues, "is to reverse the *ideological apparatus* of the State (church, family, media, armed forces, etc.); to turn it—if not wholly, then partly—against the State power of monopoly capital." Among additional proposals is one for "a *continuous public debate* on the role of the forces of public order in a democratic society."

In dealing with the more formidable dogma of the "Dictatorship of the Proletariat," around which most left criticism

of Eurocommunism is centered, Carrillo takes pains to trace it from inception to application. "The question," he concludes, after having advanced all arguments and strategies for the development of a democratic socialism, "is whether working people in developed capitalist countries can impose their hegemony without resorting to the 'Dictatorship'... We Spanish Communists and other parties declare that this is possible."

"Eurocommunism," according to Carrillo, opts for the democratic road to socialism through a long-term process of coexistence of public and private forms of property. Its prime aim is to socialize the decisive levers of the economy; to guarantee the hegemony of the 'historic bloc,' consisting of the working class, students, intellectuals, professionals, farmers, small business people, and the like.

In Spain, democratic socialism in the first stages means: a redistribution of land with mixed forms, private, cooperative, and collective; free education, free medical care; coexistence of public and private ownership of property; complete social and political democracy—all to be guaranteed by the political hegemony of the aforementioned 'historic bloc,' and leading to a classless, equitable society—i.e. Socialism.

It would appear then that Eurocommunism, more than any previous application of Marxist theory, goes beyond classes in that it dares to presume to base itself upon the people as a whole. In the advanced countries it accepts the challenge of the ballot box with an intrinsic belief in the justice and the appeal of socialist-humanist concepts, as well as the axiom that people, if given the truth, and a way to enforce it, will respond, positively.

To the charge of 'reformism,' Carrillo replies that, "The generations of Marxists who have lived through the grievous experience of fascism and who, in another order of things, have experienced Stalinist degeneration, appraise the concept of

democracy in a different way, and not in opposition to socialism and communism, but as a road toward them and as a main component of them."

He states further that Spain's PCE has not abandoned its vanguard role—"but no longer regards itself as the only representative of the working class... The Marxist method," he writes, "is not our exclusive property... The role of vanguard is not a privilege derived from a name or program. It is a position to be earned every day and every hour." All situations, he tells us, must be dealt with "on the basis of a concrete analysis of a concrete reality!"

And, lest there be doubts as to the resolve of Carrillo and the PCE in the face of a constant peril from the right, he states simply that, "We think that if—in a majority government—there is an attempt by force from reactionary quarters, then one must respond with force and, of course, must be prepared for that moment."

In reply to the charge that 'human rights' and democracy are products of capitalism while, conversely, socialism equals Soviet domination, Carrillo has this to say:

"Eurocommunism must overcome this dilemma, and raise the question of democracy and socialism to its appropriate historic level." It must "demonstrate that democracy is not only not consubstantial with capitalism, but that its defense and development require the overthrow of that social system..."

"Eurocommunism must also demonstrate that a victory of the social forces of Western Europe will not augment Soviet State power in the slightest, nor will it imply the spread of the Soviet model of a single party. It will be an independent experience with a more evolved socialism having a positive influence on the democratic evolution of the kinds of socialism that exist today."

Above all else, Eurocommunism is no phenomenon of the moment. Its substance has always been a part of Western thinking. In his chapter: "The Historic Roots of Eurocommunism," Carrillo takes the lid off the box, suggesting, for example, that the concept of the Popular Front was the independent creation of the Spanish and French parties. French Communist differences with the monolith of the Comintern were basic to the

question of whether the French CP should participate in the government it had been instrumental in creating in the 1930s. The Comintern said no, thereby hamstringing the French CP's potential throughout the length of the Spanish struggle, the critical period of Munich, and the eve of World War II.

Harry Pollitt, General Secretary of the British CP, defined WWII as an anti-fascist war from the first moments. The Comintern defined it as an imperialist war—until the Soviet Union itself was attacked. Pollitt lost his job.

In the post-war '50s, immediately following the apostasy of Yugoslavia choosing the road of independence, the English, still unbowed, devised a program with a transition to socialism in conditions of democracy. *Nyet!*

And, though Carrillo doesn't mention it, the CPUSA was also confronted at the time by Eugene Dennis and others of the Central Committee who projected the idea of replacing the party with a United Mass Party of Socialism whose doctrinal basis would necessarily have been broader than the existent apparatus. *Nyet!* was the word from the USSR, through Jacques Duclos of the French CP, and thousands who had dreamed of a party based upon American realities left the party, never to return.

The book is rich in exactly the kind of data that should have been made public over the years. It was not Comintern hegemony that prevented any open dialogue. Centralism was both the excuse and the weapon for the cover-up of a multitude of sins.

The aftermath of WWII, Stalin's death, the 20th Congress and Krushchev's "revelations," the apostasy of Tito, the risings in East Germany, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and the schisms in western parties as a reaction to Soviet interference all forced a reexamination of the Soviet political system.

Eurocommunism is one result. A return to the logic of dialogue and discussion, a return to socialist sanity. Carrillo's book just might be the Marxist primer for the '70s. No one who presumes to speak for socialism should be without it. Indeed, as time will surely prove, if there is to be a future this book will forge a part of it.

Carrillo himself sums it up. "The question that confronts the Marxist revolutionaries of the '70s," he writes, "is this: Shall we tackle our tasks in order to develop the socialist revolution, making it worldwide, with a scientific criterion, on the basis of a concrete analysis of concrete reality, or shall we tackle them with ideological oversimplification, with an intellectual laziness comparable with that of those people who repeat elsewhere: 'God made the world in six days, and rested on the seventh'?"

Herman Rosenstein and Arthur H. Landis are both veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade.

Manure

Continued from page 24.

On a dairy in Lafayette, Colo., Bio-Gas decided a methane digester didn't make financial sense yet, however. The 400-milker farm was able to get cheaper (interstate) natural gas than the Clovis farmer, who was buying intrastate gas.

A 6,000 gallon tank mounted on the methane powered truck was designed to handle the dairy's wastes. The tank was able to produce enough gas to power the operation, but it would have taken 20 years to pay for itself in natural gas saved. To be considered a good investment the payback period would have to shrink to ten years, Varani says.

Varani has concluded that digesters make sense for people using propane or intrastate natural gas—but not interstate gas, unless the price continues to climb. If someone wanted to build a digester himself, however, costs could be cut by one-half and even the interstate gas customer would profit by switching to the generation of his own gas.

Varani freely admits the Bio-Gas had trouble with the truck. They built a "portable swamp" and nature did not want this as a portable process," he says.

At each stop on the truck's tour, technicians discovered that the vibrations of travel had plugged up pipes in the system. To the amusement of townspeople all over the Southwest, when they tried to take the pipes apart, they were showered by manure.

"It's worse than a dam breaking because you know what's behind it—manure," Varani says.

Despite problems, the truck was an overall success. "You can drive down the road, put in some manure, and it will keep on generating," Varani says.

This year the truck is spending a sedentary summer "feeding algae" with the fertilizer it produces at a research lab 40 miles south of Albuquerque.

The truck is a big research step beyond the 55 gallon drum Bio-Gas first held up to financiers. Now the firm has even more to show—a 400 gallon "pilot plant" at its office and lab and the digester it designed to heat a large commercial greenhouse now under construction in Cheyenne, Wyo.

But the firm's main interest this year is the Lamar power plant. The town, with a population of approximately 7,500, has 40,000 cows at or near the city limits. It has manure available at \$1.50 a ton and a manure-hauling industry already established that could take on the task of haul-

ing wastes from the methane digester back to the farmers' fields.

Lamar's power plant, run by the Arkansas Valley Power Authority, has a once-through cooling system that produces 110 degree water at the rate of 15,000 gallons per minute. Now they pour that water back into the river. Varani sees the water as "a perfect heat source for the digester," taking obvious delight in the technological neatness of the scheme.

"Suddenly instead of buying coal from you in Wyoming, Lamar is finding fuel in their backyards. And the money for that fuel goes to their neighbor—the guy

Solution to last week's puzzle:

A	B	E	T	S	S	M	U	T	A	U	S	T
L	A	T	H	E	D	A	R	Y	I	S	E	E
F	A	R	A	N	D	W	I	D	E	A	S	T
S	L	E	E	R	E	D	S	E	N	O	R	S
L	I	S	T	E	N	R	E	B				
D	S	M	S	O	N	E	A	O	A	S	S	
R	I	A	L	S								
B	O	N	N	E	T	S						
S	I	G	N									
H	T	S										
O	A	R										
H	O	U	S	E	S							
I	N	T	H	E	D	A	W	N	S	L	I	G
R	E	T	E									
E	R	O	S									

who owns the feedlot—who spends it in town."

"This is self-sufficiency on a city-wide level. I'm really happy with the concept," he says.

This article originally appeared in High Country News, Box K, Lander, Wyoming 82520. Reprinted with permission of the author.

CAMP KINDERLAND
has a beautiful new
summer home in Tolland, Mass.
(near the Tanglewood area)

Magnificent lake . . . 330 wooded acres . . . all land and water sports . . . overnights . . . trips . . . full arts & performing arts program.

A rare secular Jewish cultural program rich in Jewish literature and folkways . . . Yiddish *Gesang* . . . an appreciation of America's multi-racial and ethnic freedom traditions. Exploration of Women's Freedom Movement.

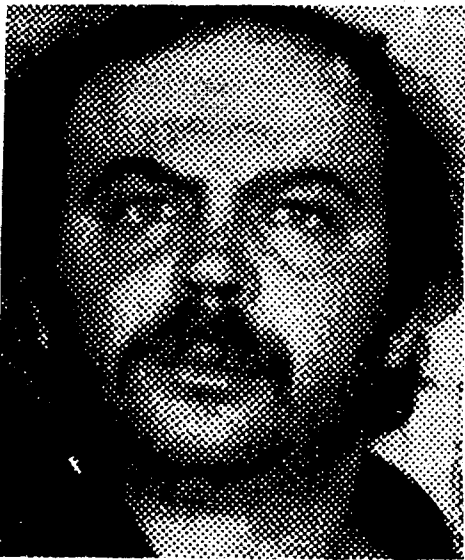
Register your child for an enriched recreational and cultural vacation experience.

For information:

Camp Kinderland,
1 Union Sq. W., Room 506
New York, N. Y. 10003
(212) 255-6283

Founded, 1923. Member, Association of Jewish Sponsored Camps.

Ordine Nuovo



Pierluigi Conantelli of Ordine Nuovo.

Continued from page 9.

"idea" that can easily be beaten in free discussion, are likely to disapprove of the Italian law banning fascist associations. In the U.S., experience has taught the left that it will be the first to suffer from any infringement on political freedoms. But Europeans would tend to see the relationship of political and social forces as more decisive than fidelity to principle.

Ordine Nuovo is no discussion group. Neo-fascist ideas are left to the orators of the Italian Social Movement—Nationalist Right (MSI-DN), which runs candidates in elections and last time around won over 6 percent of the vote. But organizations like Ordine Nuovo do not waste time on talk. They express their political ideas more directly, with iron bars, dynamite and guns.

On a recent U.S. television broadcast, Henry Kissinger sneered at the Italian "myth of the anti-fascist resistance." Many World War II events have indeed become myths; President Carter recently rushed up to a Normandy beach to revive the myth of D-Day.

But fascism was real in Italy. It was invented there and held sway for 20 years; the anti-fascist resistance was real too—a much broader and bloodier struggle than the more celebrated (and alas, greatly exaggerated) French resistance. At the end of the war, the anti-fascist parties—Communist, Socialist, Christian Democrat, Republican, Liberal—joined in writing a democratic Constitution for a new Italian republic. The anti-fascist resistance is the "founding myth," the consensual basis of Italian democracy. Kissinger's contempt for Italian anti-fascist resistance is part of his contempt for Italian democracy itself, and foreshadows eventual American acceptance of a non-anti-fascist regime in Italy as a lesser evil than a democracy that makes the wrong choices.

Mussolini's original flying squads of toughs were deployed with the objective of bringing his Fascist party to power. Today it is not fascist parties but a country's armed forces that take over on behalf of "national security" when a democracy proves "ungovernable." The role of commando groups like Ordine Nuovo is both to spread disorder so as to raise a public clamor for "order," and to cripple and intimidate resistance to a police state "solution" to the problem they have helped create.

The world press, so attentive to any sign of "leftist terrorism," has a way of suddenly losing interest in "violence" when it is committed by rightists. There is little awareness outside Italy of the left's problems over the years with fascist violence.

Until the upsurge of the student movement in the late '60s, bands of fascists operated with impunity on Rome University campus, intimidating students and professors.

Fascist response.

As a counter-attack against the rising new left movement, the "strategy of tension" was initiated on Dec. 12, 1969, when a bomb killed 16 people and injured 100 in a bank in Milan's Piazza Fontana. An anarchist, Pietro Valpreda, was framed for the massacre, in a plot involving Ordine

Nuovo, policemen and officers of Italian military intelligence (SID).

The purpose of such crimes was apparently to create a fear of "extremists" that would promote conformity and repression and block the rapid politicalization. Backed by the Greek colonels during their reign in Athens, some of the Italian neo-fascists hoped to promote a similar coup in Rome. Despite such machinations, the left continued to gain strength. Many of the plots were exposed and some of the plotters arrested.

Since the Communist party made substantial gains in the June 1976 elections, neo-fascist assaults on leftist militants have increased. The appearance last year of firearms—the now famous "P 38" pistol—in the hands of some "Autonomous" militants must be understood in the context of years of neo-fascist attacks.

The Autonomous groups (not to be confused with the disciplined, highly organized "Red Brigades" that have been going around shooting people) tend to explain their recourse to firearms as defensive. The *Autonomi* feel insecure in their collectives, targets for both fascists and police raids. Whatever its merits as an authentic new political expression of "marginalized" youth, the Autonomous movement looks like ideal terrain for agents provocateurs of all kinds, and it seems plausible that some of them may be being armed by the same obscure manipulators who are arming groups like Ordine Nuovo.

The somewhat tribal outlook of some autonomous collectives makes it possible for them to get sucked into the vicious circle of "vendetta" warfare with fascist attackers, thus playing their role in a spectacle of "extremist violence" well designed to raise middle class clamors for "order."

Rome has been the main theater in recent weeks for an escalation of political violence. Communists, Socialists and Republicans agree that Rome has been deliberately chosen as part of a strategy to prove that Italy is "ungovernable." Rome, an administrative city without important industry, lacks a politicized, disciplined working class able to counter fascist violence. On the other hand, it has a large lower middle class, the stuff reactionary movements are made of, large numbers of students with no job prospects and sprawling slum suburbs breeding the aimless nihilistic youth described by Pier Paolo Pasolini before he was murdered, apparently by one of them.

Violence can be easy to work up in such a setting, and since Rome is a world capital, the disorder will be heard around the world, preparing public opinion for whatever "necessary measures" may eventually be taken to "restore order."

Coming at such a moment, the Rome court's absolution of Ordine Nuovo is so shockingly dangerous that *Il Manifesto* called it "an authentic coup."

A big step towards one, anyway. The fascists feel encouraged to act more brazenly than ever. The Autonomous groups, convinced that fascism and the state are acting in collusion, are likelier than ever to turn a deaf ear to arguments against violence and build up their defense establishment.

"It began like this in Buenos Aires..." journalists are writing in articles on Rome's growing jitters.

Having flunked Italian democracy for failing to come up with the desired results, American policy-makers will not likely complain about "an Argentine solution." Why should they? The Argentine military government may have its little flaws in the area of human rights, but it is a top favorite with the International Monetary Fund.

IN CHICAGO

The Midwest's largest selection of Marxist and leftwing books and periodicals. Many titles in Spanish & German. 20% discount on all new books. Mail inquiries are welcome.

Tel. (312) 525-3667

11 to 7:30 p.m., 6 days

Guild Bookstore
1118 W. Armitage
Chicago, Ill. 60614

Nader

Continued from page 3.

If they're not under the thumb of Tip O'Neill or Jimmy Carter, however, these independent members are not about to kowtow to Ralph either. So they have been just as ready to pick away at his consumer protection agency bill as they have, say, the President's stalled energy program.

McClosky, for example, said last spring he would oppose the bill unless it included provisions for abolishing other present government consumer offices, most of which he considered toothless bureaucratic window-dressing; he also wanted the agency denied the authority to compel businesses to answer its questions, which he said would just be another form of red tape. Other members echoed these complaints, and the revised bill incorporated them into its text. (McCloskey then voted for the bill.)

Disenchantment with government.

These criticisms reflect the sensitivity of the independents—along with just about everyone else in Congress—to the surge of public disenchantment with "big government."

Nader said that as far as he was concerned, this anti-big government sentiment was simply "a clever shift of focus," engineered by the "corporatists." He says, "It doesn't mean that people want to let business have more power and less restraint. Look at the polls: they show tremendous distrust of corporations and strong concern for consumer protection, protection of the environment and awareness of corporate criminality."

Still, even if the anti-government surge was strictly a Chamber of Commerce ad-man's fabrication, which it isn't, most of the House, including the independents, believe in its importance. Why?

One major reason, according to Esther Petersen, the veteran consumer lobbyist who was LBJ's special assistant for consumer affairs and now works for Jimmy Carter in the same capacity, is "The business lobbyists have been working the floor of the House very carefully and very effectively, much more so than Ralph and his associates."

It is here, in the humdrum of daily contact and cultivation of legislators, that Nader's attacks on the independents-cum-mushy liberals has worked most against his cause.

His relations with Pat Schroeder are a sorry case in point. Beneath the surface rhetoric about selling out to corporatists versus exercising independent judgment is a months-long personal squabble that would do more justice to a pair of quarrelsome 12-year-olds.

Pete McCloskey, whose relations with Nader are similarly clotted with acrimony, says, "Common courtesy and politeness are Nader's achilles' heel. What he is doing for consumers ought to be done, but, Jesus, I don't like doing business with him. It's at the point now where on matters that aren't points of conscience, I don't want to vote with him. I like the Nader people better than I like him. They're zealots, but not unreasonable zealots."

McCloskey, after pressing for amendments to the consumer agency bill, voted for it. And he also worked on behalf of the consumer coop bank bill, which passed the House by a single vote. Mark Green somewhat grudgingly acknowledged McCloskey's valuable role in these fights and others, but he didn't seem able to understand how McCloskey could be with them on these issues and not on others.

That lack of understanding, and the insensitivity it breeds and encourages, account for much of Nader's difficulty in moving the independents that he considers only mushy.

When 13 of the key votes in Nader's 1977 Congressional Index won or lost by margins of less than ten votes, and others were not brought to the floor because the count was too iffy for the leadership, then the matter of Nader's lobbying style is not an irrelevant or secondary factor in the political equation. Does the tangle of snubs and snarled egos in which his lobbying is entangled mean that the press critics are right, that he is fading as a power on Capitol Hill?

On balance the verdict seems to be: Not yet. Nader himself is confident, almost arrogantly so. While others may have their doubts, few are ready to write him off.

By next fall we may all know who was closer to the truth and who still has the clout with Congress—the "consumerists," led by their lean, indefatigable, abrasive champion, or the "corporatists," working to manipulate the independence of a new congressional constituency into an irrelevant, truly mushy liberalism.

Two battles to watch for will come around the consumer coop bank bill (S-1010) and the Public Participation Fund Act (S-270) which would provide federal funds for ordinary people appearing before federal agencies. Both will be tough battles, though Mark Green says he can win at least the coop bank bill.

In any case, with his new ventures into out-front electoral politicking, in addition to his 100 hour work weeks, Ralph Nader will be in there swinging down to the final bell of the last round. The reports of his political demise are, to say the least, premature.

Chuck Fager is a Washington-based freelance writer.

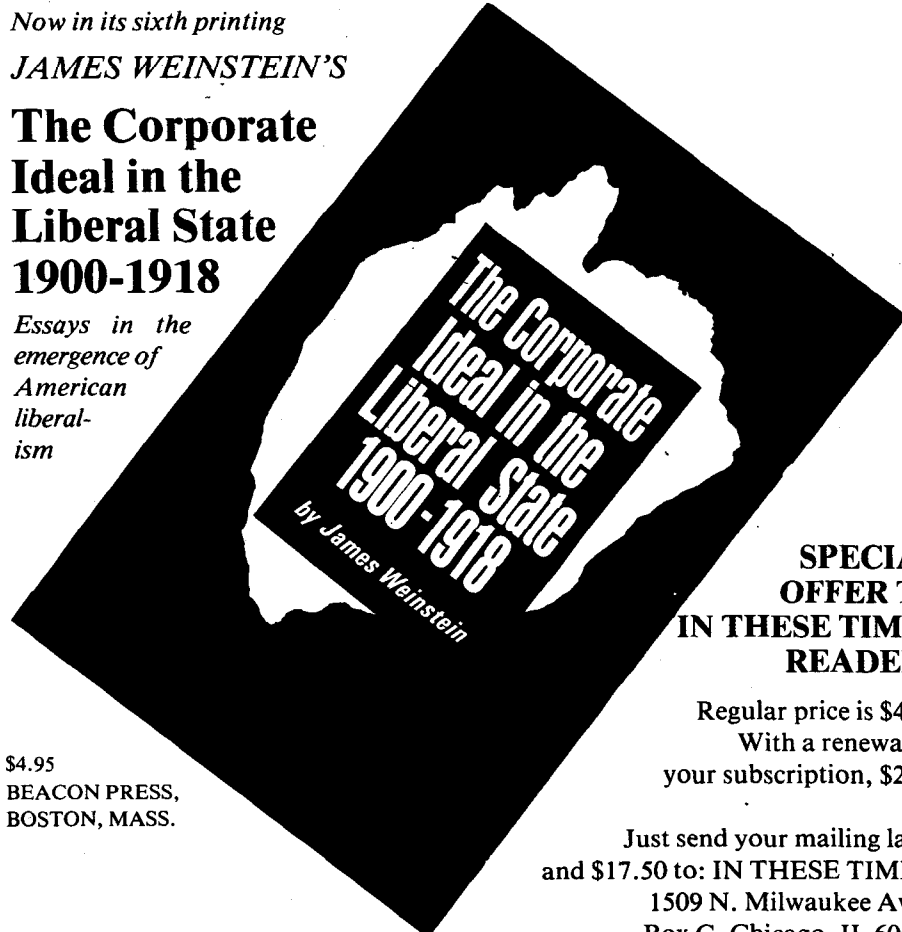
Now in its sixth printing

JAMES WEINSTEIN'S

The Corporate Ideal in the Liberal State 1900-1918

Essays in the emergence of American liberalism

\$4.95
BEACON PRESS,
BOSTON, MASS.



SPECIAL OFFER TO IN THESE TIMES READERS

Regular price is \$4.95
With a renewal of your subscription, \$2.50

Just send your mailing label and \$17.50 to: IN THESE TIMES, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Box C, Chicago, IL 60622

Or, for the book alone, send \$4.95.

LYRICS FROM THE LEFT

Voices of Vietnam veterans

DE-MILITARIZED ZONES: VETERANS AFTER VIETNAM

Edited by Jan Barry and W.D. Ehrhart
East River Anthology, 114 N. 6th St., Perkasio, PA 18944
192 pp., paper, illus., \$2.95

THIS IS A POWERFUL collection of poems about coming home and finding your house haunted, only to realize that no one else can see the ghost. It is a book about demons and bad dreams, and a colossal so-

cial deception. In short, this is about the last prisoners of the war in Vietnam:

America's veterans.

The final hundreds were airlifted unceremoniously from Tan Son Nhut airbase in 1973. They had fought or advised in Indochina for 15 years, most of them originally sharing an engrained belief in the political and moral legitimacy of the American cause. The Reds were wrong, and the Pentagon was right; many had enlisted to fight.

But something happened on the way through the rice fields. The American soldier saw the horrors of this war close up—enough pillaging to make him sick, enough to de-militarize him. But like the demilitarized zones in Southeast Asia, he has remained ever since the true center of conflict. He has seen too much war to forget.

Back in the states, Manhattan Kansas never seemed so hollow, so de-frauded. No one else here shared his recurrent nightmares. No one else wanted to turn off the football game. No one else minded hunting small game.

So America, the apple pie of young men's memories, went stale on the shelf. And the American tonic for injury, forgetfulness, became too sweet for the veteran's tastes. Imagine yourself a Viet-vet. You go to restaurants and watch your friends order hamburgers. You order a seat in a protected corner. Your mouth tastes like ash.

At night you put your head down to sleep, and there they are again: *Dark shapless things/Moving/Through the twilight pools/Beneath the surface* (W.D. Ehrhart). It makes you fear sleeping alone.

Other American wars have created fond memories, a camaraderie, drinking stories, slaps on the back. Vietnam created instead a ghost that lingers in the public plaza, shuffling its feet. The ghost lingers in crippling wounds and joblessness; it lingers in bad discharges and damaged reputations; it lingers in alcoholism, drug abuse and despair. As a vet, you recognize the ghost. He is yours.

You have a remembrance of blood and muddy boots. You can still see the limpid eyes of the orphans, still conjure their beckoning mothers. The smell of gunpowder and defoliants remains fresh: *The War still follows me/Never in anything have I found/A way to throw off the dead* (Gerald McCarthy).

Your life has been transformed. You pace the streets trying to walk off your conscience: *As I pass/Someone yells/"Hey muvva/fukka"/I stop/Wondering who knows my name* (Charles Purcell).

These are some of the themes of *De-Militarized Zones*; these are the remnants of peace and honor. And yet, on another level, *DMZ* is much more than this simple canticle of woe, more than a veteran's complaint. It is as well a book about struggling growth and an advance from illusion. The poetry proposes a salve for the nation's wounds better than collective amnesia: to exorcise the ghost of the war, end the haunting by confrontation, self-knowledge and action.

And so contributor Peter P. Mahoney can write: *I am a prophet by pain/I have the wisdom of the afflicted*.

The selections of *DMZ* constitute a special poetry of survival. Having lived through the fire and the muck, the veteran conceives of his life and society as something potentially richer than what it has been. The meaning of survival has changed for him: from making it to tomorrow to making tomorrow something better.

The authors of *DMZ* ask, "What has become of us since the war?" "What have we learned?" In so doing they grapple with both our past and the political choices to be made in the future. Their poetry is stark, it is direct, and it is as passionate as the fighting which spawned it. There are no poems in this collection for the tea-in-the-garden set. These are the voices of the combat-weary.

These veterans have put away their rifles and picked up pens. They have stopped the killing, and are killing the ghost. They now know that civilization should be cherished, that barbarism should be resisted, and that the political mainstream has been all too willing to forget that.

—Donald Venes

Donald Venes is a free-lance writer in Chicago.

To the Asian Victors

The great miscalculation
Refuses to be covered over.
I have tried every solution,
Yet the paint always begins to peel
Even before it is dry,
And the bare room comes back
Again.

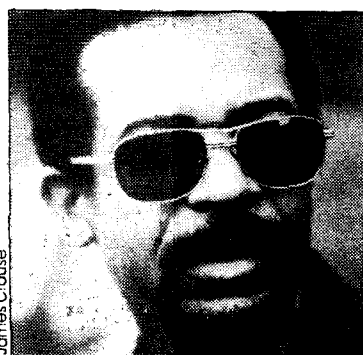
This last time,
It returned as yellow frightened faces
Spilling from the bellies of birds,
Like splinters from old wounds
That will not heal.

In school, as a child,
I learned about the Redcoats —
I studied myself,
Though I did not know it at the time.
The lesson remains;
Only the teacher has changed.

Looking back
At the pale shadow forever
Calling at dusk from the forest,
I remember the dead, I
Remember the dying.

But I cannot ever quite remember
What I went looking for,
Or what it was I lost
In that alien land
That became
More I
Than my own can ever be again.

W.D. Ehrhart



James Crouse

A Black Soldier Remembers

My Saigon daughter I saw only once
standing in the dusty square
across from the Brink's BOQ/PX
in back of the National Assembly
next to the ugly statue of
the crouching marines facing
the fish pond the VC blew up
during Tet.

The amputee beggars watch us.
The same color and the same eyes.
She does not offer me one of the
silly hats she sells Americans and
I have nothing she needs but
the sad smile she already has.

Horace Coleman

LYRICS FROM THE LEFT

Madison Avenue

I wonder if all those people
on Madison Avenue
really eat and scrub and wash
spray and drink
smoke
and swallow
all that stuff they want us
to eat and scrub and wash
spray and drink
smoke
and swallow

Low Flying Airplanes

low flying airplanes
are only dangerous
to tall people
and people who live near airports
and people with ears
and people who breathe
which I'm certain leaves most of us out

The American Response

did you see what they did
to the little children
who wanted
an extra bowl of rice?
they stamped
a hammer and sickle
on each of their foreheads,
and now
they can't get into
the boys' club.

the end

Christian Eaby



Tom McGrath, a political poet

"LITTLE AS IT IS, what have we, comrades, but love and the class struggle?" asks Thomas McGrath in his 214-page long poem, *Letter to an Imaginary Friend* (Swallow Press, 1970). "Love and hunger! — That is my whole story."

But it is *our* story as well. And McGrath tells it better than any other poet writing in America today. His great achievement, as Fred Stern says in the forthcoming book, *Where the West Begins*, is the ability "to integrate personal experience, the events and feelings befalling his 'personna', with his vision of class struggle and struggle for a socialist society."

At 61 McGrath, almost alone among his contemporaries, is a true "political poet," holding the reins of that volatile team with just the right tension so that neither horse runs away with the wagon. His shorter poems, most of which have been collected in *The Movie at the End of the World* (Swallow, 1973), are often brilliant. His long poem is an American masterpiece which may well find a place beside Whitman's "Song of Myself," Williams' *Paterson*, and Pound's *Cantos*.

Though he says *Letter to an Imaginary Friend* is only "pseudo-autobiographical," the poem revolves around major benchmarks in McGrath's own life: his childhood on a North Dakota farm; his wartime service in the arctic boredom of the Aleutians, his involvement in the radical labor movement; his refusal to cooperate with the House Un-American Activities committee, and his two marriages.

But one need not know the details of McGrath's life to understand and appreciate the poem, for McGrath weaves these into a broader, more generalized social — and socialist — awareness. The details he chooses are those which intersect with "something bigger" — the common experiences of all underdogs seeking the Fifth World, the Saquasohuh of Hopi prophesy.

The people we meet are at once themselves and symbols of "something bigger": Cal, "one of the bundle teamsters...read *The Industrial Worker*...last of the real Wobs"; Jenny, the "female kachina...filling the field with light"; Cassidy, "simple as a knife, with no more pretension than bread"; "Showboat" Quinn of the National Maritime Union ("What part in the fuckin' pageant of history did you play?"); Bill Dee "of the bronc-stompers from the gone days of Montana mustangs"; Genya, "innocence/beauty/valor...miner's-light...girl with a handful of debts."

All of them move in the great circle of the Round Dance, the cycle of struggle, joy, despair and struggle, shifting stars "in the permanent sky." We move with them because they are people we have known and loved; they are us. What they seek, we seek also: "the commune: of pure potential...Communitas/Circle of warmth and work."

McGrath's juxtaposition of joy and despair propels us incessantly forward. Yes, we live in "a criminal nation/Of the rich and the mighty...a compromised country/Half dead at the bottom and rotten ripe on top." Nevertheless, "that's not the point and never was the point." What matters, McGrath insists, is "the generosity, expectant hope,/The open and true desire to create the good....The beginning is right here:/ON THIS PAGE./Outside the window are all the materials."

To that end, says McGrath, "I offer as guide this total myth,/The legend of my life and time....It is only required to open your eyes — /Come:/We'll walk up out of the night together."

Letter to an Imaginary Friend is a tale of personal courage and collective energy, a monument in words to all those who have brought us that much closer to the world we want for our grandchildren, and an inspiration to those of us who must carry on.

No other contemporary American poet has offered us so much. Yet McGrath and his work command a depressingly small audience. Even well-read lovers of poetry often return blank stares at the mention of McGrath, and he is still published almost exclusively in the "little magazines."

Undoubtedly, his politics ("unaffiliated far left," he says these days) are the major cause of McGrath's relative obscurity. Mainstream America, or rather mainstream poetical America — for mainstream America doesn't pay any attention to anybody's poetry — isn't comfortable with a poet who writes passionately about *real* change in the language of Marxism and the radical left, about commitment to revolution and the uprooting of existing political and social structures.

Yet it is just those politics, and McGrath's ability to turn his political ideals into good poetry, which makes McGrath so appealing. Too many poets never force their poetry beyond the narrow confines of their own private lives. Others who do, like Robert Bly, Muriel Rukeyser, Adrienne Rich, or Galway Kinnell, seldom offer more than criticism of what is.

Thomas McGrath offers a true vision of how to change what is, and what to change it into. His tenacity in maintaining that singular vision through 40 years of writing on the margins of the world is awesome: "...my purpose," he says, again in *Letter to an Imaginary Friend*, "is nothing less/Than the interpositioning of a fence of ghosts (living and dead)/Between the atomic sewing machines of bourgeois ideology/(Net where we strangle) and the Naked Man of the Round Dance...In other words to change the world/—Nothing less."

—W.D. Ehrhart

William D. Ehrhart is a poet who teaches English at University of Illinois, Circle Campus, Chicago.

O'Leary's Last Wish: In Case the Revolution Should Fail

I want to be buried in Arlington Cemetery,
Somewhere at the patriotic center of the American Death,
With my bones full of the sleepy dynamite of the class struggle
And the time-bomb of the century under my private's shirt.

I want to lie there and tick like a pulse among the defunct
Heroes, the quiet deserters of their own body and blood —
The ones who stood on expensive roads in the total shell fire of money
Being cut off at the balls for their own and the public good.

I'll be there, the anti-bourgeois neutrino of the irreconcilable proletariat,
Among the tame terrene charges of those patriotic stiff.
Contra-Destiny Factors ring midnight, but there's no gold in their veins;
Cock crow chimes thrice. Reveille. No one is stirring yet

But under the ghost-overgrown honortabs to the wars,
The real estate and spirit-money my fellow-death-workers have won,
Is the Word of the Four Last Things of the Working Class, the rumored
Revoition of the Dead which Heaven, and the Boss, want put down.

Nevertheless, I'm still here, Hell's partisan, with my anti-god bomb,
Agitating toward the day when these stony dead
Shall storm up out of the ground in the chalky battalions
To judge wars, Presidents, fates, God and His Own Elect.

The Seekers

Pueblo, Colorado 1940

Our grandfathers were strangers and their absurd notions
Said uncle to a century that built few fences;
Pragmatists, with six-guns, their dreams were never fancy;
Beyond their mustaches, their eyes eloped with nations.
Their caravans set wagon tongues at a peculiar star;
Led at last to mountains, they sought to map Fidelity —
Went loco in windy canyons, but, lost, they looked
harder and harder.

Our fathers, more complex and less heroic,
Were haunted by more ghosts than an empty house.
Their joy was to thumb their hearts over. Masked like Freud
They entered their unconscious by the second story.
But what they were seeking, or how it looked or sounded,
We heard about only once in a blue moon,
Though they expected to know it if they ever found it.

Every direction has its attendant devil,
And their safaris weren't conducted on the bosses' time,
For what they were hunting is certainly never tame
And, for the poor, is usually illegal.
Maybe with maps made going would be faster,
But the maps made for tourists in their private cars
Have no names for brotherhood or justice, and in any case
We'll have to walk because we're going farther.

Thomas McGrath

From *Movie at the End of the World*. Reprinted by permission
of Swallow Press, Chicago,
©1973.



Not Apathetic, Just Cold

Lay not up for yourselves treasure
in heaven, where moth and rust doth
corrupt, and where thieves break
in and steal.

I'm not talking, she said, about
treasure. I'm talking
about survival.

I'm talking about the price of oil
and the landlord shutting off the heat
before I've done the dinner dishes.
After a while I stopped complaining,
bought a real wool cardigan instead.
Moths never touched the orlon ones. I don't
mind getting old, but if you can't get warm
you've got no dignity.

I'm talking about water collecting
behind plaster and paint, about living
under someone else's sink, bathtub, radiator
about to rust out or overflow. We are all
connected here by our inability to move
away. But I've always put money aside:
deserve at least the certainty
of a hot bath.

I'm talking about the one present
from my mother that I liked: a brooch
that Grandma wore when she got married.
Three gold leaves with pearls around the-edges.
Maybe them that stole it would have stayed
at home if they had something they loved
the way I loved that pin. When I put it on
I was someone with a past.

I'm talking about my neighbor down the hall
the one who took her kids in strollers to protest
the Vietnam war, almost killed last year
by a boy who asked to use her phone —
too young, she thought, to carry a knife.
She's gained twenty pounds, tells me she shakes
when she goes out, even in daylight, dreams
of nothing but killing.

I'm not talking, she said, about
treasure.

Kate Ellis

Kate Ellis teaches English at
Livingston College, Rutgers
University.

July 24. Moji Station

At noon
half a hundred new marchers
meet us at Moji Station.
Among them is a man
with white hair, thin and fine,
down the back of his neck. Still
he looks young. He takes my hand.
His name is Yojiro Taya.
I tell him I am seventy-one.
He says he is seventy-six
"Haiku," he says. He explains
through my interpreter,
"For fifty-five years
I have been walking around Japan
writing haiku."

"What kind?" I ask him.

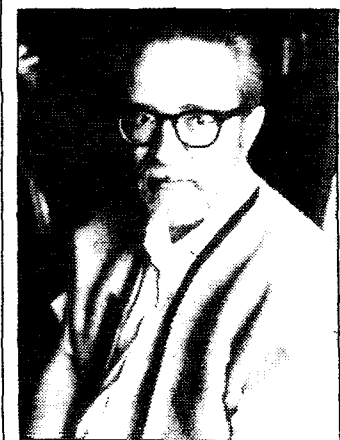
"All kinds. Country scenes,
my impressions of nature, the seasons,
but mainly
in the last twenty years
haiku against war."

"And now you're marching with us."

"Every year I've marched
in demonstrations against war.
I march and write.
I've written thousands of haiku."
A poet of the movement, a poet
older than I and bringing
his fine hair into the winds of change.

Millen Brand

From *Peace March*, a journal of
the 1977 Peace March from
Nagasaki to Hiroshima.
Millen Brand is a novelist and
a poet whose works include
The Outward Room, **Savage
Sleep**, and his most recent
collection of poetry, **Local Lives**,
1975.



Jonathan Brand

FILM

Blue Collar powerful stuff

BLUE COLLAR

Directed by Paul Schrader
With Richard Pryor, Harvey Keitel, Yaphet Kotto
Written by Paul and Leonard Schrader
Universal, Rated R

From the first pounding note to the final freeze-frame, *Blue Collar* grabs you by the throat and never lets go.

This story of a trio of Motor City auto workers who become inadvertently ensnared in corrupt union dealings presents a sympathetic but unsentimental picture of life on the assembly line, and of how those eight hours influence every other aspect of their existence as surely as if an omnipresent foreman were there, barking over their shoulders.

Richard Pryor, Harvey Keitel and Yaphet Kotto are three friends who share the same jobs and the same frustrations. Zeke (Pryor) and Stanley (Keitel) are family men with mortgaged homes, color TVs that are broken before they're paid for and kids who have hunger pains immediately after dinner ("It says right here on the package, serves three!" Stanley yells at his son. "Write the company!").

Smokey (Kotto) circulates in a

somewhat different world, a bachelor ex-con given to flashy women and a flashy Cadillac that he may have to sell in order to pay off the loan sharks who occasionally pop up uninvited in the back seat.

At the plant they are badgered constantly by an abusive foreman, and their complaints are consistently ignored by the union shop steward. Fed up with the series of dead-ends, they team up to knock over the local "AAW" office where, in the craziest disguises ever worn, they make off with the petty cash. But included in their loot is a ledger cataloging what appear to be illegal union loans. How they dispose of the information, and how the union deals with the threat they pose, forms the crux of what is basically a story about decisions.

Moral dilemma has been the focal point in previous works by screenwriter Paul Schrader (*Taxi Driver*, *Rolling Thunder*). In *Blue Collar* (his first writing/directing effort), he has abandoned the graphic violence and bizarre characterizations of earlier scripts for more emphatic and common-place roles, while still retaining a fixation on the idea of Good and

Evil awash in an amoral world where nothing is as it should be; the harder one works to pay the bills, the more he falls into debt; unions formed to protect the rights of workers are plainly allied with the companies oppressing them.

The "AAW" should not be taken to be representative of all unions, but the smug complacency of its ex-radical leaders is present in many. When confronted with an irate Zeke, the fatherly local president retorts, "You forget that 20 years ago there were no blacks at all in the auto industry, and still wouldn't be if it weren't for guys like me."

Pryor, Keitel and Kotto are excellent. The screen bristles with their edgy friendship, covert antagonisms, and finally with open animosity, fulfilling the warning given them earlier in the film, that the company pits the young against the old, the new man against the lifer, the black against the white, to keep us in our place."

Schrader has effectively combined stingingly natural dialogue with awesome scenes of the industrial setting. (None of the auto manufacturers would permit the filming in their Detroit plants.



Richard Pryor as Zeke, an assembly line lifer.

Schrader had to settle for a Checker Cab plant in Kalamazoo.) He further enhances the mood with a pile-driving musical score that becomes an indispensable part of the atmosphere.

Blue Collar successfully mixes humor and drama into a hard-hitting piece of working-class realism with just the right amount

of selectivity and polish to give it a larger-than-life dimension, without the gritty texture of a small budget film like *Over-Under Side-ways Down*.

It's powerful stuff.

—P. Hertel

P. Hertel is a free-lance journalist in Chicago who reviews regularly for IN THESE TIMES.

Kurosawa's epic of the Arctic

DERSU UZALA

Directed by Akira Kurosawa
With Maxim Munzik and Yuri Solomon
Screenplay by Akira Kurosawa and Yun Nagibin

A squat, wizened oriental hunter doesn't cut the figure of your usual hero, but then, everything about *Dersu Uzala* is unusual—and unusually good.

Japanese director Akira Kurosawa has created a film of exceptional strength and beauty around the unlikely friendship between a dashing, pre-revolution Russian captain leading a surveying expedition and the eccentric native who joins them as a guide. At first the object of the soldiers'

ridicule, the skillful Dersu wins their grudging respect and eventually their affection, especially that of Captain Arsiniev.

The exploring party makes its way across the fierce wilderness of the Russian Pacific seaboard, struggling through frigid temperatures, blizzards, impenetrable forests and barren ice fields before their mission is completed. In the film's most spellbinding sequence, Dersu and Arsiniev, having gone ahead of the others, lose their direction on a glacial tundra. They try to retrace their steps, crossing back and forth over miles of similar yet unfamiliar wasteland, becoming more hopelessly lost at each meaningless turn (a scene strongly remi-

niscient of a lost-in-the-fog sequence in one of Kurosawa's earlier films, *Throne of Blood*).

The hunter saves them from certain doom (I won't tell how) just as the sun melts into the frozen horizon.

Five years later, on another expedition, Arsiniev and Dersu are happily reunited. The hunter is older and his sight is failing; the captain persuades him to come and live in the city with his family. Dersu gives it a try, but is unable to exist where he can't pitch a tent or fire his rifle, and where his outspoken rage at seeing people pay money for water and firewood gets him in trouble with the town's forces of law and order. He returns to the wilderness.



Maxim Munzik (Dersu) and Yuri Solomin (Arsiniev) are so perfect in their roles that it's hard to believe they're acting. The film's breathtaking outdoor scenes are exquisitely filmed, and the soundtrack (in Russian, with subtitles) is graced by the haunting music of Isaac Shwarts.

Akira Kurosawa, probably the most evocative director working today, has the ability to mix strong emotional elements into films of superior intelligence. What could have turned out as a dull remake

of the old "buddies vs. nature" theme is instead a work of genius. Set in an epic mode, it relies on the combination of powerful and moving "heroes," with the emphasis not so much on the action as on the unfolding of the characterizations—and Dersu is one person you can't help but like.

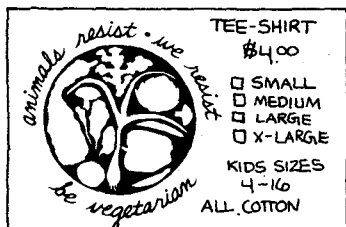
Dersu Uzala won the Academy Award for Best Foreign Film of 1975. I can think of no movie more deserving of the title.

—P. Hertel

CLASSIFIED

COUNSELORS WANTED for progressive Jewish children's camp with unique cultural program. Contact: Camp Kinderland, One Union Square West, New York, NY 10003, 212-255-6283.

ASIA FROM A LEFT PERSPECTIVE—Read the Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars. Special issues still available on Chinese revolutionary literature, Asian women, Imperialism and Development in Asia (two issues of each), or Asian America, south Korea, Thailand (one issue each). \$2/issue, \$9 subscription. B.C.A.S., Box W, Charlemont, MA 01339.



NAME _____
STREET _____
CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____
TO: A SILKSCREEN COLLECTIVE
P.O. BOX 3102
NEW HAVEN, CONN. 06515

IN THESE TIMES DISTRIBUTORS NEEDED FOR THE FOLLOWING CITIES: Boston, Detroit, Milwaukee, San Diego, Phoenix, Omaha, Little Rock, Houston, Dallas, San Antonio, Birmingham, Nashville, Miami, Memphis, Jacksonville, Tampa, Newark, Trenton, Hartford, New Haven, Providence, Columbus, Akron, Grand Rapids, Washington, New Orleans, St. Louis, Sacramento, Takoma, Olympia, San Jose, Salt Lake City, Tempe, Santa Fe, Davenport, Kansas City, Lawrence Ka., Louisville, and maybe your city. You should have spare time, a vehicle available and a commitment to making IN THESE TIMES a success in your city. Contact Nick Rabkin, ITT, 1509 N. Milwaukee, Chicago, IL 60622.

TYPESETTER NEEDED for full-time position with radical pacifist weekly magazine collective. Send resume to WIN Magazine, 503 Atlantic Ave., Brooklyn, NY 11217.

CONSPIRACIES UNLIMITED: Spies, assassinations, banking, occult, etc. Lively and irreverent. \$2/year. P.O. Box 3085, St. Paul, Minn. 55165.

FOR RENT—4th floor of IN THESE TIMES office building. Ideal for studio or offices. 7 rooms. \$200 includes utilities. 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave. Chicago. Call (312) 489-4444, 9 am-5 pm.

WOMEN'S LABOR AND OTHER POLITICAL RECORDS, including latest releases, available by mail, 25¢ for catalog. BREAD & ROSES, 1724 20th St. NW, Washington, DC 20009. Stop by next time you're in DC and check out our wide selection of progressive periodicals—and our records, of course!

AFTER THE REVOLUTION: WHO RULES?—a critique of the Marxist-Leninist left published by the Socialist Labor Party. 75¢. New York Labor News, 914 Industrial Ave., Palo Alto, CA 94303.

THE SOCIALIST TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY—a talk by Martin J. Sklar, associate editor, IN THESE TIMES. Tues., March 7, 8:45 pm, Parson Library Auditorium, Northern Illinois University, DeKalb, IL. The public is invited, admission free.

IN THESE TIMES needs a dependable adding machine. Can you donate one or sell us one cheap? Call ITT—(312) 489-4444.

TYPESETTING: IN THESE TIMES is now setting jobs at very reasonable rates. IN THESE TIMES typesetters and other on hand. Will set large or small jobs. For stylesheet or estimate contact: In These Times, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave. Chicago, 489-4444.

AN EVENING OF SONG
for readers of
IN THESE TIMES

MARTHA SCHLAMME
singing the songs of Brecht/Weill
Danny Kalb Band

P.S.41, 11th St. off 6th Avenue
7:30 P.M.

FRIDAY, March 10th

Donation \$3.50

sponsored by
NEW YORK ITT ASSOCIATES

PROGRESSIVE MAGAZINE ON politics of food and agriculture seeks experienced editor to work in Mineola, NY. Box 1975, Garden City, NY 11530.

NY CAPITAL DISTRICT ITT will sponsor a forum on "Carter's Budget and Arms Reduction" Wed., Feb. 22, 8 pm, Friends' Meeting House, 727 Madison Ave., Albany, NY. Speakers: Rick Hind, who is opposing Sam Stratton in the Democratic primary to represent the 28th Congressional District, and Kiernan Donaghy, local activist in the peace conversion movement. Free, refreshments

PREGNANCY TESTING & PREGNANCY COUNSELING Monday evenings 7-9, Saturdays 10:30 am-12:30 pm. Emma Goldman Women's Center, 1628A W. Belmont Chicago. Bring first morning urine sample. For more information call 528-4310 or 493-5364.

CLASSIFIED RATES:
\$.15 per word.
10% Prepaid Discount.

Records

I'M READY
Muddy Waters
(Blue Sky)

In the '30s blues was considered "race music," but over the decades it's formed the life blood of pop, and even—in its most bastardized form—boogie.

Purists still exist for whom any lack of spontaneity—even the faintest trace of staginess—is as debasing as playing bluegrass on a clavichord. An album like Muddy Waters' newly-released *I'm Ready* is apt to be evaluated with an undue amount of sour grapes in these circles. It is best viewed through mainstream eyes.

Waters' new revitalized trend started last year with his first album for Johnny Winters' Blue Sky label, *Hard Again*. Since the collapse of Chess Records, which was Muddy's label for nearly 30 years, Winters has devoted much time, energy and love to seeing that the man he considers the archetypal, protomithical urban bluesman is properly captured on records. (Something Waters' later Chess collaborators did not insure, as witness the abortive *Electric Mud* in 1968.)

The albino, blues-based guitarist's presence on all Blue Sky albums is an asset, and he has given Waters a new confidence that gleams in every track of *I'm Ready*. Even the standards ("I'm Ready," "Rock Me," "Good Morning, Little School Girl" and "Hoochie Coochie Man") sparkle as they haven't in what is, in some cases, 23 years.

New compositions (notably "Mamie" and "Copper Brown") are well-sung and played in the tradition of the classics (even if Muddy's stock slide guitar solo is alarmingly static.) Winters' guitar leads add a visceral edge to Muddy's vocals, and the dual harps of Big Walter Horton and Herry Portnoy are always on the make.

The album's failure is the clean, calculated quality of the sound. (Here's where the purist's criteria can't be discarded.) All the black art quality of Muddy's original 1954 recording of "Hoochie Coochie Man" is missing from this present-day reading. And Muddy has aged a bit since he told his "Little School Girl" he's gonna mess with her.

Muddy Waters in 1978 is sadly an anachronism, albeit of a positive nature.

At a young 62, he sounds more menacing at times than Mick Jagger at 32 and should be applauded for his part in a well-done, tastefully-presented LP. If blues had a child called rock'n'roll, it's fortunate for all of us that the offspring hasn't made away with all the family business.

Cary Baker

Cary Baker is a student at Northern Illinois University.

BACK ROADS

Kate Wolf
(Owl)

Kate Wolf is a California folk singer. There seems to be no better way to describe her.

Her first album, *Back Roads*, on the Owl label (her own), reflects a combination of loneliness, the joy of simple escapes and an undefined longing for something expected, but not quite understood. Her music, according to some, has captured the spirit of those children of the '60s



Muddy Waters, a positive anachronism.

who wanted to get back to the basics but aren't quite sure where it is they've got to.

Originally from Berkeley, Kate Wolf has spent her recent years in Sonoma County, about 70 miles north of San Francisco. Sonoma is a place where not so long ago hippies, "burnt-out" activists and "back to the land-ers" went to start communes and rediscover country living, to slow down and try to get away from the problems of the day. Many of these people went on to fail at farming, to learn of loneliness of rural life and to rediscover the meaning of the small community as an institution of survival, rather than an utopian ideal.

Though Wolf's songs don't directly address these issues, they seem to reflect a mind familiar with the problems of "back roads" living in an urban era.

The production of the album emulates the "laid-back" country-folk style that Kate Wolf seems to identify with. In July of '76, she got together her back-up group, The Wildwood Flower, and a few additional musical friends in front of an open fire in a friend's living room for five days of informal recording.

Bass player Pete Wiseman shut down his auto-repair business to make the session. Guitarist David West drove 200 miles up from Santa Barbara for half a day of jamming and went back home the same afternoon. Album credits ignore potential big business distributing companies and name instead the owners of the living-room-turned-recording-studio and the friends who gave "support, perseverance and dedication."

But despite the "we're all friends up here" presentation of the album jacket, the songs share a common theme of loneliness. Wolf's voice comes across slow, gentle, slightly distant, almost haunting. Personal tunes leave you with a feeling like the emptiness in the heart of a person tell-

ing a good friend goodbye for good.

In "The Redtail Hawk" she sings,

*It's been so long since you said
goodbye
My cabin's been as lonesome
as a cry
But there's comfort in the
clouds drifting by
In the golden, rolling hills of
California...*

This song is so full of California imagery that people have sent it to friends and lovers out of state to try to make them come home.

The two ballads, "Telluride" and "Emma Rose," both tell stories of people who feel that something's been left out of their lives. In "Telluride," Wolf sings of an aging sawmill worker, comparing his life to that of a childhood friend who hit the road at the time he was settling down:

*And the river keeps rolling past
the south county line
I'd love to roll with it, but I've
run out of time
The days roll by like the logs on
the river
Have I just been wasting my
time?*

Kate Wolf has become a popular performer in Northern California where she's been known for years as a singer, songwriter, folk festival organizer and radio DJ. Her first album is dedicated to Betty Saunders, who was one of a core of radical folk song activists in New York in the '40s and '50s. When Saunders died recently, she left her collection of music of that time to Kate Wolf.

Wolf's songs can't be described as radical, political, or even topical, but the existence of this album documents the feelings and life-styles of the people who surround her.

—Ed Schoenfeld
Ed Schoenfeld is a folk musician and a member of the New American Movement in Oakland, Calif. Back Roads can be ordered for \$6 from Owl Records, P.O. Box 711, Sebastopol, CA 95472.



Kate Wolf, California folk singer.

Ron Blanchette

DONALD SHAFFER ASSOCIATES, INC.

ALL FORMS OF INSURANCE
Specialists in Pension &
Employee Benefit Planning

11 GRACE AVENUE
Great Neck, N.Y. 11021
212-895-7008
516-466-4642

My only regret is that I did not live to endorse this fine, fine paper.

- ☐ Herman Melville
- ☐ Florence Kelley
- ☐ Chandler Owen
- ☐ Margaret Sanger
- ☐ Finley Peter Dunne
- ☐ Charles E. Ruthenberg
- ☐ Anna Strunsky
- ☐ Frances Willard
- ☐ Walter Rauschenbush
- ☐ Frederick Douglass
- ☐ John Peter Altgeld

NEXT WEEK IN THESE TIMES



Miners, the back-ground to the strike, what's happening now, a little history, what is it really like to be a miner, why is coal so important, and more.

Also, alternative politics forces gather in California, why Carter isn't keeping his promises to cut arms sales, 25 years of recorded comedy.

- ☐ Send IN THESE TIMES for 4 trial months. Here's \$7.75.
- ☐ Send me 50 bargain weeks of IN THESE TIMES. Here's \$17.50.

Name _____
Address _____
City, State _____
Zip _____

Back issues available for \$1.00 each

IN THESE TIMES, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622

- ☐ Send IN THESE TIMES for 4 trial months. Here's \$7.75.
- ☐ Send me 50 bargain weeks of IN THESE TIMES. Here's \$17.50.

Name _____
Address _____
City, State _____
Zip _____

Back issues available for \$1.00 each.

IN THESE TIMES, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622

- ☐ Send me IN THESE TIMES for 4 trial months. Here's \$7.75.
- ☐ Send me 50 bargain weeks of IN THESE TIMES. Here's \$17.50.

Name _____
Address _____
City, State _____
Zip _____

Back issues available for \$1.00 each.

In These Times, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622

- ☐ Send IN THESE TIMES for 4 trial months. Here's \$7.75.
- ☐ Send me 50 bargain weeks of IN THESE TIMES. Here's \$17.50.

Name _____
Address _____
City, State _____
Zip _____

Back issues available for \$1.00 each.

In These Times, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622

Manure Power!

BY JOAN NICE

Nobody claims manure is elegant. But Fred Varani claims that manure can provide an "elegant solution" to some of the problems facing the country.

Take Lamar, Colo., for instance. Lamar's city-owned utility can't get natural gas to run its brand new power plant. To convert Lamar's boilers to coal-burning would be expensive. But Lamar has feedlots. Manure from these operations, when converted to gas in an enclosed tank, could be used to fire the existing power plant. What's more, water used to cool the power plant can then be used to warm the gas tank. The odorless sludge left over from the process can be hauled outside of town to enrich the fields that nourish the fuel source—cattle.

Despite the fact that this scheme is based on manure, it's an elegant solution, says Varani, a mechanical engineer with experience designing equipment for sewage treatment plants, who is now vice-president of the Bio-Gas of Colorado, Inc. "It's the only solution we've found that fits."

"Burning coal really wouldn't please anybody. If they converted to coal, they'd probably spend two or three times as much as they would for a digester; they'd have to dig up Wyoming; ship it down here; make air pollution out of it; and let it settle. That just doesn't appeal," he says.

Market hasn't been ready.

Bio-Gas, a four-year-old, five-person firm, is completing feasibility studies on the methane digester for Lamar. The firm knows there is enough cattle manure in the area to provide electricity for the 20,000 or so people the plant serves. They are now working with a waste water treatment engineering firm to determine how much gas from the manure would cost.

Bio-Gas has done research and public education in its few years of existence, rather than commercial work. Not that it hasn't tried to convince people to buy and build digesters. Up until now, the market hasn't been ready, Varani says. Only recently has the firm started to get its first commercial inquiries.

The process they're selling is fairly simple. In a sealed tank, agricultural and other organic wastes can be converted into biogas, which is 70 percent burnable methane gas and 30 percent carbon dioxide. Even with the carbon dioxide, biogas can be burned with minor adjustments in the same stoves, heaters and power plants that use natural gas. The process produces a nearly odorless liquid fertilizer as a byproduct.

The system is sustained by wastes, yet it wastes nothing, Varani says.

"You don't need a fancy facility to build this," Varani says. His traveling biogas demonstration last year unearthed "a lot of people with digesters out there"—most of them built out of 55 gallon drums.

"There's nothing complicated about this. It's just a skill. A digester is less tricky to build and manage than raising the corn or chickens that feed it in the first place," Varani says.

Monfort's waste.

Bio-Gas first made news when it declared in 1974 that it had joined forces with the world's largest cattle feedlot—Monfort of Colorado, Inc.—to build a solar-heated methane digester that would produce four million cubic feet of methane gas per day. Monfort was to provide the manure; Bio-Gas was to build and operate the plant.

While the idea was applauded as an ingenious solution to Monfort's waste disposal problems and the natural gas shortage, Bio-Gas never found funding to go ahead with the project.



Varani (below) sought to convince the public of the viability of his ideas by building a methane-powered truck (above) that toured Colorado, Utah, New Mexico and Arizona last year.



High Country News

"There's nothing complicated about this. It's just a skill. A digester is less tricky to build and manage than raising the corn or chickens that feed it in the first place," says Fred Varani of his scheme to turn manure into energy.

positional problems and the natural gas shortage, Bio-Gas never found funding to go ahead with the project.

Varani blames the conservative nature of financiers, "Financiers want to see 40 plants exactly like the one you're going to build—and they want to see the books for the last ten years. We could show them digesters in 55 gallon drums, and we could show them large sewage digesters, but we could not show them large digesters operating on animal wastes. Our 55 gallon drum didn't impress them."

Hank Brown, vice-president of Monfort, says the company probably would build such an operation themselves if they were convinced it would be profitable.

"We're not satisfied that the technology is fully researched," Brown says.

Methane truck tour.

Since no one has been willing to make a commercial investment, BioGas has sought out and been sustained by public money and consulting work over the last few years. With a grant from the Four Corners Regional Commission, Bio-Gas built a methane-powered truck that toured Colorado, Utah, New Mexico, and Arizona last summer.

The Bio-Gas staff members who traveled with the truck brought back "amazing" stories, according to Varani. In Clovis, N.M., near the Mexican border they found some farmers are spending as much as \$400,000 a year for natural gas to generate the power to irrigate their fields of cotton, corn, and sorghum. They are about to go out of business because of this rapidly rising cost.

"There's a place where a methane digester makes sense," Varani says.

Continued on page 17.